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HERITAGE MANAGEMENT: KHOISAN HISTORY AND HERITAGE – THE GRIQUAS (KHOE)

ABSTRACT: It is argued that the current dominant neo-Imperialist heritage ideology is disadvantageous to some South African culture groups—the Griqua, a Khoe KhoiSan people, being the case at hand.

Fervent neo-Imperialist ideological support from both academia and the public sector, based on its perceived restitutive and inclusive qualities, is evidenced by staunch resistance to anyone opposing the ideology. But the neo-Imperialist idiom—like its predecessor, Imperialism—is underscored by missionary inspired cultural and historical constructs of the British Colonial Period when it was used by the then Cape government for socio-political purposes. These histories are often contrary to and promoted at the expense of impartial heritage research. Calls by KhoiSan groups—including Griqua sections—for a more holistic, integrated, and peoples centred approach to their histories have, to date, largely been ignored.

Popular and publicly available Griqua history centres on a seventeenth to eighteenth century mixed-race origin of them between indigenous Khoe and white settler groups at the Cape. But this version of history is contrary to that held by many Griquas, and at least some heritage specialists.

Cavazzi and Labat (1732) describe a *Giaques* homeland cited in the Congo / provincial regions of the Kingdom of Monoemugi, that was invaded and conquered between the years 1491–1592. They follow a subjugated and incorporated section of the *Giaques*—the *Giaques Cassange*—to Angola, where they subsequently settled with their original conquerors, the Muzimba / Chilomba. In 1648 the *Giaques Cassange* and other culture groups were consulted by appointed Portuguese ambassadors in an attempt to bring them into the Christian fold. The history thus recorded leaves to question the fate of *Giaques* / *Griquas* survivors of the said Muzimba, and inferred later disputes and conquests, and with direct reference to the *Giaques ou Galles* / *Galies* recorded residing toward the north-east of the greater Okavango region by Pierre du Val, *Cafre et Monomtapa*, circa. 1663.

The above-mentioned alludes to a fairly recent and reasonably reconstructable Griqua history; it, however, designates the *Giaques* / *Griquas* as a people with an origin northward of South Africa and is, thus, directly contrary to the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist constructs of Griqua history. It is suggested that the South African Griqua are the descendants of displaced survivors of possibly various invasive wars further north in Africa, starting with the Muzimba conquest of their homeland; expelled and dispossessed *Giaques* / *Griquas* fled mainly southward and south-westward, where they were encountered by the missionaries, residing in and near the Cape Colony's interior border regions in the nineteenth century.

South African Griquas, at present, mainly reside in the Northern, Western, and Eastern Cape provinces.

The post-1994 democratic emphasis on the neo-Imperialist ideology resulted in the Griqua being denied investigation into and access to their more distant history, negatively impacting not only on their heritage but also their human rights. It is, thus, requested that SAHRA / the relevant provincial heritage resources authorities (PHRAs) initiate(s) an impartial research program into their history to afford them their rightful place in the broader southern African historical and heritage cultural arenas.

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1. THE GRIQUAS AND THE IMPERIALIST AND NEO-IMPERIALIST HERITAGE PARADIGMS

Many a seafaring nation, both Eastern and Western, has contributed to the documentary recording of southern Africa's history, including the Dutch, with specific reference to their 1652 establishment of a station at the Cape of Good Hope, and their subsequent permanent settlement in the region. But in South Africa, heritage studies as an academic pursuit—initially typified by ethnographic documentation—is credited to the British, following their second annexation of the Cape Colony in 1806, and associated with ever increasing missionary work in the colony. The missionary focus was on the conversion of natives; this objective of the missionaries, aligned with the *Christianizing and Civilizing* native policy of Britain across her colonies (Markham 1900; Murray 1891).

The early missionaries more than often worked beyond the Cape Colony's borders. Aside from their Christianizing and educational ambitions their labours included, among other, the negotiation of tribal land with the government, the setting up of mission stations, and the (negotiation of the) administration of such land and stations. Missionaries routinely committed to the laborious task of recording the history and cultural customs of the peoples among whom they worked, whether a KhoiSan¹ or Bantu² tribe. The missionaries, inspired by their divine cause, believed that the peoples they encountered had always lived in the manner and in the same general region where they first met them (Markham 1900).

The stationary view of the missionaries with regard to the native peoples they encountered, was opposed by early historiographers and ethnologists including, among other, by G.M. Theal (1910) and G.W. Stow (1905). According to Stow (1905: viii–ix):

"The greater number of the missionaries who were then residing among them [the native peoples of South Africa], and who might have collected many of the traditions which are now lost for ever, considered the past history of a race of savages as a matter of little moment in comparison with making converts to their own special ideas of salvation, and even when any facts regarding their new protégés were recorded by them, they in general gave such a biased and distorted description as to render their evidence so untrustworthy as to be perfectly valueless in carrying out any impartial philosophical or ethnological inquiry.

The simple fact that certain tribes were found occupying some given tract of country at the time of the missionary's arrival was of itself, without further question, deemed irrefragable proof that these particular natives must have been its rightful owners from time immemorial. Thus erroneous statements and unfounded claims were not only promulgated, but upheld with a holy fervour, a positiveness of assertion, and acrimony of feeling, which were only equalled by the profound ignorance of the disputants with regard to the real state of the case. The white nations were looked upon, and spoken of, as the only intruders into the ancient domains of the 'poor natives,' and the only race which had trodden under foot, with a remorselessness and cruelty deserving universal execration, the rights of the ill-treated aborigines.

Each of the men of this school confidently asserted that his own special tribe, or the one he had taken under his own special protection, was the true representative of the original possessors of the soil. Such was the spirit in which inquiries were made into tribal history from 1843 to 1853, if such dogmatic assertions can be called inquiry. How then can it be a matter of wonder that so many unfounded theories were circulated, giving rise to a multitude of erroneous opinions, many of which are current at the present day? One fallacious statement backed up by another, and they were so often reiterated that they not only gained implicit credence, but, from the character of their promulgators, were considered to carry with them an authority which ought not to be doubted; and thus, ultimately, the claims of 'the true aborigines' of this portion of the continent were lost sight of entirely."

The close relationship between the British Cape government and the missionaries presided, principally for reasons of management of the native peoples of the Cape Colony. The missionary histories thus recorded were upheld with

¹ KhoiSan is a combined term designating the Stone Age peoples of southern Africa, including both San / "Bushman" and Khoekoen / Khoikhoi (abbreviated as Khoe / Khoi) / "Hottentot" peoples.

² Bantu / Ba'Ntu is a linguistic term meaning "people" and designates the various Black or Iron Age tribes of southern Africa.

fervour—as stated by Stow (1905), often at the expense of ethnographic information—and laid the foundations of the heritage Imperialist school of thought. One such Imperialist assertion was that the Griqua—who, following the 1806 British annexation of the Cape, was found living in small groups in, and on the border regions of the interior of the Cape Colony—was a people who had their origin in the physical and cultural amalgamation of indigenous Khoe and white settler groups at the Cape. An essentially socio-political historical theory, based on limited migration and centred around a general Cape peninsula origin, was subsequently constructed to account for the presence of Khoe peoples, including the Griqua, in the colony; and following the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, consequent to the British victory of the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), Imperialist history, heavily indebted in the missionary histories, was sanctioned as state history as is, for example, evidenced in the 1922 *Historical Atlas of South Africa* by E.A. Walker, then Professor of History at the University of Cape Town (UCT). Imperialist history was—with some amendments—adopted by the Apartheid era government of 1948–1994.



Map 1: Map of South Africa, indicating the migration routes of the Khoe radiating from the Cape peninsula region, from Walker's (1922) *Historical Atlas of South Africa*

After 1994, Imperialism as ideology made a quick and prominent return to the South African heritage and socio-political arenas—and with a likened early missionary fervour. Under the label of neo-Imperialism, it soon became the principal ideology of the democratic era. Neo-Imperialism dominates not only the heritage academic sector—where it is taught, promoted, and practiced at universities, museums, government departments, and the Cultural Resources Management (CRM) industry—but also the public arena. Many interest groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), both South African and foreign registered, are active in rights activism, including cultural, minority, and human rights, and related community outreach and education, with their heritage philosophy underscored by the current emphasis on neo-Imperialism as mainstream ideology. Both academia and the public sector eagerly promote their *liberal* ideas and ideals, in South Africa more than often done so in an attempt to *right the wrongs* of perceived past exclusionary and racist histories and, thus, in contribution of a more representative history of the varying and complex South African cultures and peoples.

But neo-Imperialism as un-scrutinised ideology, unfortunately, comes with many of the research concerns identified during the Colonial Period when its predecessor, Imperialism, dominated the cultural, socio-political, and rights activism arenas unchecked. In the present as in the past—under neo-Imperialism as under Imperialism—some culture groups are disadvantaged by their histories being overshadowed by popular neo-Imperialist rhetoric in the

stead of impartial research. It is argued that the Griqua is one such culture group: they are disadvantaged by the renewed emphasis on their purported recent Cape origin missionary–British Cape Colonial constructed history (albeit supplemented by generalised Stone Age archaeological research), resulting in a non-missionary–British Cape Colonial constructed, holistic, and integrated African history of them being, near thirty years after democracy, still largely amiss—and even excluded from academic research forums with a focus on southern African history of the past 500 years.

Popular neo-Imperialist Griqua history is underscored by both academia and interest and rights activist groups, with easily available titles including, among other:

- De Graaff, B. 2019. *Barend Barends: die Vergete Kaptein van Danielskuil [Barend Barends: the Forgotten Captain of Danielskuil]*
- Edgar, R. & Saunders, C. 1982. *A.A.S. Le Fleur and the Griqua Trek of 1917: Segregation, Self-help, and Ethnic Identity*.
- Legassick, M.C. 2010. *The Politics of a South African Frontier: the Griqua, the Sotho-Tswana and the Missionaries*.
- Schweitzer, E. 2015. *The Making of Griqua, Inc. Indigenous Struggles for Land and Autonomy in South Africa*.
- Sutton, I.B. 1979. *The End of Coloured Independence: the Case of the Griqualand East Rebellion of 1878*.

Neo-Imperialist popular and easily available online Griqua history records them, among other, as:

- “The Griqua are South Africa’s rainbow people, a multicultural mix of people, deeply religious, with their origins in the very first sexual encounter between a Khoikhoi woman and Dutch male colonist. Since then, as happened in days of exploration and pioneering, their descendants have integrated with Afrikaans, English, Germans, French, Malay, Tswana and San. According to historical archives, they have been in search of their own land ever since” (<https://www.plett-tourism.co.za/we-were-following-a-prophecy/>).
- “Griqua was the name given to a mixed-race culture in the Cape Colony of South Africa, around the 17th and 18th century. They were also known as Hottentots before Europeans arrived into their lands where they lived as close-knit families. They are a racially and culturally mixed people who are primarily descended from the intermarriages and sexual relations between European colonist men and primarily Khoikhoi slaves. The Griquas could trace their forefathers to two clans, the Koks and the Barendse, the first made up mainly of Khoikhoi and the second of mixed European descent. Genetic studies of the 21st century have shown these people also had Tswana, San, and Xhosa ancestry. Later, the Europeans chose mixed-race women of the Khoikhoi, who were living in the Cape during the 17th and 18th centuries. As time went on, mixed-race people began to marry among themselves, establishing a distinct ethnic group that tended to be more assimilated to Dutch and European ways than tribal peoples in separate villages. During apartheid, the Griqua were racially classified under the broader category of ‘Coloured’” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Griqua_people).

It is, furthermore, frequently asserted that the Griqua was first thus named by the missionary, the Rev John Campbell³, of the London Missionary Society, during his first visit to South Africa, ~1812 / 1813:

- “The Griqua people vaguely became aware of a group identity around 1800 when a group of migrant farmers of mostly Khoi [Khoi], but also European and slave descent, searching for land of their own, settled at Klaarwater north of the Gariep River. On their long trek from the south-western Cape they had passing contact with the Grigriqua or Charigriqua Khoi clan but they called themselves bastards. However, the Rev John Campbell, a missionary who worked among them, thought the name was offensive to an English ear and persuaded them to adopt the name Griqua and rename their settlement Griquatown” (<https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/rsa/griqualand.htm>).

³ John Campbell (1766–1840).

- “The Griquas could trace their forefathers to two clans, the Koks and the Barendse, the first made up mainly of Khoikhoi [Khoeh] and the second of mixed European descent [...]. The two groups, under their respective leaders Cornelius⁴ and the brothers Barend and Nicolaas Barends roamed the area around the Orange River until 1804 when they were persuaded by two missionaries from the London Missionary Society to settle down with their followers north of the Orange River.

On the insistence of the missionary John Campbell, they came up with the name Griqua. They established a basic system of government based on leaders known as ‘kaptyns’ and magistrates drawn from the leading families. Prominent families included were the Kok and Barends families, and the Waterboer family complex [...]. The Griquas founded a settlement called Klarwater, later known as Griquatown [...]” (<https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/griqua>).

A fair argument can, however, be made that the tribal name Griqua was in use before their purported naming by the Rev Campbell, and that he merely reaffirmed the tribal name and supported the use thereof instead of the then commonly used term *Baster* (meaning “Bastaard” or “mixed-race”), that the missionaries and others found offensive (Philip 1841; Van Ryneveld 2023).

Nonetheless, the purported naming of the Griqua by the Rev Campbell came to play a central role in the missionary–British Cape Colonial construct of the Griqua as a people with a recent mixed-race origin at the Cape. Under the mainstream Imperialist and neo-Imperialist ideologies that have dominated the South African scientific and heritage arenas from British Colonial times to the present day, the Griqua historical construct is still taught as *science*, despite early democratic neo-Imperialist calls for further investigation into their more distant past as has, for example, been made by Schoeman (1996: xi) in his *Griqua Records*:

“Much research still remains to be done in Griqua history, especially for the earlier period, and the following is merely intended to provide some background to the documents here transcribed.”

Thus, it came, that in the present as in the past—during the times of the missionary–British Cape government consortium—those who most fervently publicly portend themselves to research, protect, and fight for the rights of these peoples—academic specialists, and interest and rights activist groups—have become the very ones who, under the misguided zeal of neo-Imperialism as an all restorative, inclusive, and *liberal* historical and rights ideology, most actively oppose and obscure impartial research—and in cases threateningly and aggressively so—and maintain the flawed missionary–British Cape Colonial Griqua historical construct.

Presently, heritage related socio-political commentary describing the Griqua (and those of Griqua descent)—as well as some other Khoeh KhoiSan groups—as a people *born out of incest*, who are the *product of rape*, and *non-African* are not unheard of, and commonly made without any recourse.

2. THE HISTORY OF THE GIAQUES / GRIQUAS AS RECORDED BY CAVAZZI AND LABAT (1732)

The Chapter VII translated extract from Cavazzi and Labat’s (1732) *Relation Historique de L’Ethiopie Occidentale* [The Historical Relationship of Western Ethiopia] records, in part, the early history of the Giaques—or the Griquas, as they are argued to have become known in South Africa. The source is online available and referenced as:

- Cavazzi, G.A. & Labat, J-B. 1732. *Relation Historique de L’Ethiopie Occidentale*. Tome II. Paris: Charles-Jean-Baptiste. <https://archive.org/details/relationhistori01unkngoog>

The author does not claim to be academically proficient in French, least of all French of some three hundred years ago. The translation given is to be read as a basic translation, aiming to capture the historical essence of the original text.

⁴ Cornelius Kok I (1746–1820).

In summary, the history of the Giaques / Griquas comments on a place of origin—or “homeland”—of these peoples in the district between the Nile and the Zaire rivers, or the greater Congo region. The history thus given by the Giaques / Griquas is questioned by Cavazzi and Labat (1732) with reference to the Nile rather than the Zaire River, since the Giaques / Griquas at the time resided on the border of the Kingdom of Zaire. The authors are, however, in agreement that a historical link exists between the Giaques / Griquas and the Kingdom of Monoemugi. They infer that the Giaques / Griquas are a people who may have previously resided in the provincial regions of that kingdom.

The history relayed by Cavazzi and Labat (1732) records the invasion⁵ of Zimbo, leader of the Muzimba, into the lands of the Giaques / Griquas. Extermination wars followed, and survivors—those who agreed to Zimbo’s proposals—were incorporated as subjects. The brutal regime of Zimbo decimated his subjects further, but in response he only waged more war.

Cavazzi and Labat (1732) follow Zimbo’s warlike trajectory across southern Africa: having had set his eyes on the eastern Ethiopian lands, Zimbo’s armies attacked the Zaire border lands and invaded the Zambesi region, where he defeated the Portuguese at Tete. Next, he advanced on the east coast and captured, among other, Quilwa [Kilwa⁶] and Mozambique, but was eventually defeated at Melinde with heavy losses to his troops. Zimbo, because of the devastation his marauding troops had left in their wake, feared not only hunger but also revenge from formerly ransacked peoples, and decided to subdivide his troops into smaller platoons for purposes of survival and subsistence. Zimbo and his platoon—including at least some incorporated Giaques / Griquas, or the Giaques Cassange [Cassanje / Kasanje]—wandered through the desert areas to as far as the Cape of Good Hope. But finding nothing of value there, they again turned north and settled in the northern Namibian–Angolan region.

Upon the deaths of Zimbo and Dongij, an important chief of Zimbo, Dongij’s daughter, Tem-ban-Dumba—named after Zimbo’s concubine and military attaché—led the Chilomba [Tchilombo], then the principal section of Zimbo’s former Muzimba. Tem-ban-Dumba (the second, Dongij’s daughter) reinstated the same cruel laws under which Zimbo had ruled the Muzimba. Following Tem-ban-Dumba’s death (sometime after 1648, but unfortunately undated), Culemba, an officer of the Giaques Cassange, initially ruled the people under the same cruel laws—or the *cult* of the Giaques. After his marriage to Bombaiocce, a concubine of his, he, however, became more settled and the people led a more peaceable life. Culemba was in turn succeeded by Chingurij, a man from the same province as Culemba, but not of the Giaques Cassange. Chingurij again instated the former cruel laws (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).

In Angola, Tem-ban-Dumba’s people, the Chilomba and others subject to her rule, including the Giaques Cassange, and who had been subjected since Zimbo’s invasion of their Congolese / Monoemugi homeland, seems to have been nominally independent, but they more than often sided with the stronger Kingdom of Matamba (and Ndongo), that reached its height in the years 1631–1744. In 1648, the Matamba, the Chilomba, the Giaques Cassange, and others were consulted by Portuguese ambassadors sent by the governor of Angola, Dom Salvador, in an attempt to persuade them to rid their peoples of their cruel laws and adopt Christian ways (Cavazzi & Labat 1732; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kingdom_of_Matamba).

* * *

The history given by Cavazzi and Labat (1732), albeit with a focus on the Muzimbas, and the later rule of Tem-ban-Dumba (the second), is of importance with reference to the reconstruction of the more distant history of the Giaques / Griquas—despite it being contrary to the neo-Imperialist, essentially missionary–British Cape Colonial version of Griqua history.

⁵ It is uncertain if Zimbo invaded the Congo region from beyond its borders, or if he rose from within the Congo and invaded neighboring Congo territories. The latter is, however, inferred, based on the reference that Zimbo and his Muzimba had been exposed to Christianity, and with missionaries active in the Congo region from 1491 onwards (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).

⁶ There were two places named Quilwa [Kilwa] on the east coast of Africa: a smaller station situated between Sofala and the Mozambique station, along the present-day Mozambican coast, and a much more substantial establishment, along the Tanzanian coast. It is reasonably inferred to have been Kilwa, Tanzania, with reference to the Moors and Mohamedans that resided there, that is referred to in the text (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).

Variation in the spelling of the tribal name—Giaques / Griquas—is explained as Giaques → [Gia][-que(s)] → [G(r)ia][-que(a)(s)] → [Gri][-qua(s)] → Griquas, where the root of the tribal name—Gia / Gri—denotes the (first) name of the original founder of the tribe, and the suffix—que(s) / qua(s)—the designation *people of*: thus, Giaques / Griquas = the people of Gia / Gri, or Gia's / Gri's tribe. The difference in the suffix—que(s) vs qua(s)—is ascribed to a broader linguistic difference between northern and southern Khoe languages. But natural change in language over time, acculturative influence on language, the various linguistic backgrounds of early informants and recorders, and the subsequent standardization of native languages should all be taken into account in the reconstruction and interpretation of early ethnographic records and cultures in the broad (Van Ryneveld 2023). It is suggested that the difference between Giaques and Griquas may, at least in part, be the result of acculturative linguistic impact of Dutch / Afrikaans on speakers of Xiri, the Giaques / Griquas language, who had found refuge further south after the invasion of their homeland. With reference to the standardization of native languages, the official English spelling has been standardized to Griqua(s) and the Afrikaans spelling to Griekwa(s).

The Giaques / Griquas is, furthermore, argued as a people encountered by the Dutch at the Cape, while under Jan van Riebeeck's⁷ command, 1652–1662. They are briefly reported on during trade intercourse as the Gouriqua, a people from the north, but with a station in the east (Leibrandt 1897), and with the station inferred to have been in the Natal region. The Dutch reported tribal name, Gouriqua, is explained as: Gouriqua → [Gouri][-qua(s)] / [Gouri][-na(s)] → [Gœuri][-qua(s)] / [Gœuri][-na(s)] → Griqua(s) / Grina(s) (Van Ryneveld 2023).

But to return to the importance of Cavazzi and Labat's (1732) history, the following points with regard to the reconstruction of the more distant history of Giaques / Griquas are highlighted:

- 1) Cavazzi and Labat (1732) confirm a Giaques / Griquas place of origin—or “homeland”—further north, irrespective of the exact locality between the Nile and the Zaire rivers, assumedly closer to the Zaire River, but not excluding the possibility of an origin in the provincial regions of the Kingdom of Monoemugi.

Zimbo's Muzimbas invaded the Giaques / Griquas homeland during the latter part of the Middle Iron Age (MIA)—and where the MIA is dated to 900/1000–1600 AD. This date is based on Cavazzi and Labat's (1732) statement that the Congois received the Gospel in about the year 1491, only after which Zimbo rose / invaded the greater Congo region, and including the homeland of the Giaques / Griquas. The invasion of the Giaques / Griquas homeland is, thus, preliminary dated to sometime between 1491 and 1592, when Zimbo attacked the Portuguese fort at Tete⁸ (Murray 1891).

⁷ Johan Anthonizoon (Jan) van Riebeeck (1619–1677).

⁸ “Beyond Fort Tete, on the opposite side of the river Cuama, there are two nations of Kafirs [natives], the one called Mumbas, the other Zimbab, or Muzimbas, both of which are cannibals; that they kill all they meet by sea or by land, for the purpose of devouring them [...]. The Portuguese sought to establish themselves firmly in the country, and one of their modes of doing so was by supporting those who were favourable to their cause. They espoused the cause of a Kaffir who was oppressed by a neighbour of great authority, took arms in his defence, crossed the river, and marched direct to Chicaronga against his oppressor, the Mumbo Kaffir. The place was evacuated by its garrison of 600 men, and the inhabitants resolved to be friends of the Portuguese, who returned to their original position, carrying with them to Fort tete a number of slaves—men, women and children—whom they found shut up in pens, for the purpose of being killed and eaten according to general practice. Dos Santos says that the Mumbo Kaffir had, before his defeat by the Portuguese, become so arrogant and cruel that he placed over the gate of his fort the heads of all whom he killed, keeping their mangled bodies in a room, into which all who came to visit him were introduced, as well as to impress them with awe as to show that his vengeance against his enemies did not terminate with life. But the example of Mumbo was not sufficient to deter Muzimbas, another Kaffir chief in the neighbourhood of Sena, from attacking another Kaffir partisan of the Portuguese. This chief fled, and appealed to Andre St. Jago, the governor of Sena, who espoused his cause, and took the field at the head of his people, with two pieces of cannon. Muzimbas was deaf to friendly propositions, and the Portuguese found his position so strongly fortified that they turned the siege into a blockade, calling for assistance from Fernandez de Charez, the commander at Fort Tete. He marched to their aid, at the head of as strong a detachment as he could spare, but, holding his enemy too cheap, advanced without sufficient order or precaution, fell into an ambush, and the Portuguese were cut off to a man. The conquerors mangled the bodies of the slain; and cutting off their limbs and heads, joined their companions in the fort. The first account which reached Andre St. Jago of the disaster was his enemy's shout of Exultation and the sound of his drum. He then saw the troops of Muzimbas marching in triumph on the ramparts, each carrying a limb, and on the end of a pike the head of the governor of Fort Tete. Hopeless of succour, he determined on a silent retreat, but Muzimbas, apprised of his intention, fell upon him unexpectedly, and the party shared the fate of the commander and garrison of Fort Tete. Amongst the soldiers fell Father Nicholas de Rossario, a monk of the order of St. Domingo, who had accompanied the army to say mass and administer the sacraments. Dos santos says that Muzimbas, desirous of signalling

Zimbo's invasion of the Giaques / Griquas homeland devastated the tribe—but some Giaques / Griquas survived, and a significant section of them is recorded on Du Val's, circa. 1663, *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, as the "*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*." This southern, or displaced, circa. 1663, principal residing, situated north-east of the greater Okavango–Lake Ngami region, must have been invaded during subsequent Later Iron Age (LIA – from 1600AD onwards) episodes of invasions and war: further extermination, subjugation, and incorporation, as well as expulsion and displacement of survivors is reasonably inferred. By 1849, during the Rev David Livingstone's⁹ first journey northward—some 180 years after Du Val's recording—he found at most traces of subjugated and incorporated Khoe / KhoiSan at the Lake Ngami region; and no in-tact Khoe group northward thereof existed anymore. The following records by Livingstone (1857: 63, 64) sketches the then scenario in the Lake Ngami region:

"On the 4th of July we went forward on horseback towards what we supposed to be the lake [Lake Ngami], and again and again did we seem to see it; but at last we came to the veritable water of the Zouga, and found it to be a river running to the N.E. A village of Bakurutse lay on the opposite bank; these live among Batletli, a tribe having a click in their language [a characteristic of the KhoiSan language group], and who were found by Sebituane to possess large herds of the horned cattle. They seemed allied to the Hottentot [Khoe] family."

"The Bechuana [baTswana] chief of the Lake region, who had sent men to Sechele, now sent orders to all the people on the river to assist us, and we were received by the Bakoba, whose language clearly shows that they bear an affinity to the tribes in the north. They call themselves Bayeyi, i.e. men; but the Bechuana call them Bakoba, which contains somewhat of the idea of slaves. They have never been known to fight, and, indeed, have a tradition that their forefathers, in their first essays at war, made their bows of the Palma-Christi; and, when these broke, they gave up fighting altogether. They have invariably submitted to the rule of every horde which has overrun the countries adjacent to the rivers on which they specially love to dwell. They are thus the Quakers of the body politic in Africa."

The above summarises the impact on, and displacement of the Giaques / Griquas from their Congolese / Monoemugi "homeland", 1491–1592. Subsequent impact on their circa. 1663 "*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*" principal residing, situated north-east of the greater Okavango–Lake Ngami region, likewise, resulted in further negative impact on the tribe, and yet again a general displacement of survivors, mainly south and south-westward. By 1849 no in-tact Khoe group lived north of Lake Ngami.

- 2) The earlier Giaques / Griquas were called by a number of tribal names, including *Giakafi* or *Engagiaghi*—both names being synonyms and referring to the same people of their homeland; they were also known as the *Aineeki*. (The Italians called them *Giaghi* or *Giaki*, and the Portuguese called them *Gaghas*) (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).

In flight they were renamed *Nft-di*, or *Ngindi*, or *Chiambagali* (Cavazzi & Labat 1732)—the fact that they were named in flight implies that a reasonable number of the Giaques / Griquas fled Zimbo's invasion and rule. If "*Chimbelles*" and "*Chembe*" are accepted as fair corruptions of *Chiambagali*, then Du Val's, circa 1663, *Cafrerie et Monomotapa* map recording of the "*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*," with their main residing recorded north-east of the greater Okavango–Lake Ngami region, echoes not only Cavazzi and Labat's (1732) description of the Giaques / Griquas then residing on the border region of the Kingdom of Zaire, but it also indicates that the *Chimbelles*—and what must have been a fairly significant section of them—fled westward, and was then (circa. 1663) residing just south of the Angolan–Namibian border, and nearer

Himself, put on the clerical dress of the monk, and bearing in one hand the chalice, and in the other a spear, marched thus at the head of his troops, who each bore one or other of the members of the Portuguese they had killed, which they ate at a feast given in honour of their victory. This took place in 1592" (Murray 1891: 39–41).

⁹ David Livingstone (1813–1873).

the coast. In addition, Tirion's circa. 1730 map, *Kaart van het Afrika of het Land der Hottentotten*, records "T Land Chembe" (the Land of Chembe) on the east coast, just north of the then *Kingdom of Inhambana* ["T Ryk Inhambana"], and complete with a "Gouriqua" (Giaques / Griquas) station further south in Natal.

The above suggests that the Giaques / Griquas must have been, prior to the invasion of their homeland by Zimbo, numerically, a substantial tribe, probably comprising multiple clans. It is reasonable to infer the devastation of the Giaques / Griquas, as they were known, at the hand of Zimbo: many succumbed in the wars, and many were subjugated and incorporated—but there were survivors. It is unknown if Du Val's (circa. 1663) recording of the "*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*" refers to a southern extremity of their "homeland," outside the reach of Zimbo's invasion, or if it designates a post-invasion displaced principal residing. However, it is evident that the invasion resulted in the large-scale scattering of dispossessed and displaced survivors, westward—the *Chimbelles* of northern Namibia—and eastward—the *Chembe*, located north of, or in the northern part of the Kingdom of Inhambana. And it is reasonable to infer that many of them fled southward and south-westward—where they were in brief trade relations initially recorded by the Dutch as the Gouriqua, and in time became known as the Griqua / Griekwa.

- 3) Du Val's (circa. 1663) "*Chimbelles*" recording bears further reference. While Cavazzi and Labat (1732) focus on Zimbo's invasion of the Giaques / Griquas "homeland" and his military campaigns throughout Africa, it is his return northward, and settlement in northern Namibia and Angola, after his rendezvous at the Cape of Good Hope, that spells an inferred second episode of *Chimbelles*–Giaques / Griquas subjugation and incorporation, and associated displacement and scattering of survivors.

The term *Africa* was widely in use by Westerners and others since early times, and adoption thereof by Africans upon contact followed. In the greater Angolan region, use thereof can, at least, be dated to early Portuguese contact, from circa. 1482 / 1484 onward, and by 1491 missionaries were already active in the Congo region (Cavazzi & Labat 1732; (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_history_of_Angola; (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_the_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo).

The late eighteenth / early nineteenth century recoded history of the Griqua leader (or chief), Jager Africander¹⁰, may well be key to this second episode of Muzimba impact on the *Chimbelles*–Giaques / Griquas. Very little is known of the subjugated and incorporated Muzimba / Chilomba tribes and tribal sections. However, online history records Tem-ban-Dumba (the second) as leader—or Queen—of the *Jages* (<https://www.definitions.net/definition/tembandumba>), contrary to Cavazzi and Labat's (1732) description of her as Queen of the Chilomba, and including incorporated peoples. If the reference to *Jages* is interpreted as a description of a subjugated and incorporated people over whom she ruled—somewhat similar to the Giaques Cassange—then *Jages* might refer to a tribal or clan name. If *Jager* is accepted as a reasonable corruption of *Jages*, then it might suggest that *Jages* / *Jager* was a Griqua clan name. Under this hypothesis, it is argued that Jager Africander—leader of a section of the *Jages* / *Jager* Griqua clan—adopted his clan name as a cum respects address—first name, to designate his position among Giaques / Griquas and other Khoe tribes amid the then ongoing Westernisation of tribal names into a name-and-surname system. (The name-and-surname system—or Christian naming of a person—was imposed by the missionaries upon acceptance of Christianity as religion by tribes' people.)

Jages / *Jager* Africander may well bear further reference. Reasonably inferred multiple episodes of impact, associated with an increasing scattering of survivors southward and south-westward, may find reference in the number of Khoe–Africander / Afrikaner tribal sections of the Cape Colony and surrounds. But in the then colony and subsequently thereto, with the overt Imperialist–Neo-Imperialist Griqua–Dutch / Afrikaner origin focus and association, sight has been lost of the principle of parallel development: as the Dutch at the Cape felt themselves, over time, more associable with an African identity than a Dutch one, the reference to themselves as *Dutch* increasingly made way for the term *Afrikaner*. So much so, that following

¹⁰ Jager Africander / Afrikaner – IHôalarab (1760–1823).

the Second Anglo-Boer War (1899–1902), Dutch (or Boer) as an official reference to a South African “people” had completely disappeared—the *Afrikaner* is known as a South African people of (primarily) Dutch heritage. The complete change from Dutch to *Afrikaner*—as designation of a “place of belonging”—spans roughly 250 years: 1652–1900. But, likewise, a similar (re) naming of another people group, along the same line of argument, can reasonably be made, without necessarily involving direct acculturative impact, as it currently dominates the *Afrikaner*–*Khoe* *Africander* / *Afrikaner* debate. *Khoe*–*Africander* / *Afrikaner* groups that claim Griqua tribal association, may well find the *Africander* / *Afrikaner* reference rather with its roots in a northern Namibian–Angolan–(Okavango) region origin, where the term *Africa* was in use from the rough 1500s onwards, than its purported Cape origin. At the Cape, similarity between *Afrikaner* and *Khoe*–*Africander* / *Afrikaner* may have been mistakenly interpreted based on assumed direct acculturation (and amalgamation). The similarity between the terms—*Afrikaner*—was well understood at the Cape, by both the Dutch and the British Cape governments and, thus, emphasised in use, rather than perhaps a tribal / clan reference, such as *Jages* / *Jager*, that was not understood, and would most likely have been interpreted merely as a name, despite its importance in *Khoe* tribal designation. *Jages* / *Jager* is inferred one of the *Chimbelles*–*Giaques* / *Griquas* clans, but they reasonably comprised a collection of scattered clan sections.

Cavazzi and Labat (1732) refer to various peoples who, through invasive wars, conquered Asia, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and the northern part of Africa; the conquerors and subjugators are thus named as the Goths, the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, the Huns, the Vandals [?], the Scythians, the Arabs, and the Teures [?]. The author’s unfamiliarity with the Teures does not allow any interpretation. But it is interesting that Tirion (circa. 1930) records (a section of) them on the west coast, just south of the Tropic of Capricorn (southward of Walvis Bay, Namibia), as “*T land van Teures*” (the Land of the Teures). Du Val’s (circa. 1663) “*Chimbelles*,” or the *Chimbelles*–*Giaques* / *Griquas* of northern Namibia, may well have adopted the reference to Africa as *Africander*, with the term *Africa* by circa. 1663 already some 200 years in use in Angola, to designate their “place of belonging” or “aborigines of / originally from” vs their Teures southern neighbours, who may not necessarily have been indigenous to southern Africa—no southern African tribe by the name of Teures is known. It is unlikely—albeit not impossible—that Teures refers to the Herrero, Ovambo, Namaqua, or other commonly known Namibian peoples; but if so, then the European based naming of a southern African tribe would be an anomaly, warranting explanation¹¹.

- 4) A more distant northern origin of the *Giaques* / *Griquas* does not deny later physical and cultural amalgamation between them and settlers of European descent at the Cape Colony region; but it does refute the purported Imperialist / neo-Imperialist missionary–British Cape Colonial construct of the Griqua as a people with a recent mixed-race origin at the Cape: *Griquas* of the colonial region were displaced survivors, that had fled southward and south-westward for purposes of refuge, following multiple episodes of impact—invasions and war—at their Congolese / Monoemugi homeland, their “*Giaques ou Galles* / *Galies*” principal, and other displaced residings: it was an essentially displaced, dispossessed, scattered refugee scenario, where sections of *Griqua* clans—and other *Khoe* tribes—regrouped and restructured themselves, in order to continue life under their altered circumstances.

With regard to Cape Colony recorded *Griqua* population numbers, Morris (1997: 112) states that:

¹¹ The European “Scramble for Africa” is generally dated to 1833–1914 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scramble_for_Africa), and German South West Africa, or Deutsch-Südwestafrika—as Namibia was known—was a German Colony from 1884 to 1919, following German settlement some years prior to its declaration as a protectorate (<https://www.britannica.com/place/German-South-West-Africa>). However, missionaries from the London Missionary Society—Abraham and Christian Albrecht—established the first mission station in Namibia in 1806 (www.evangelical-times.org/missionary-spotlight-33/), after which other missionary societies followed—missionary work, thus, well preceded general German settlement of the territory. But the first known Europeans to have touched Namibian shores was the Portuguese: Diogo Cão went ashore north of Swakopmund and raised a cross at Cape Cross in 1486, and the following year, 1487, Bartholomew Diaz erected another cross at Lüderitz Bay / !Nami=Nüs (https://www.namib.info/namibia/uk/history/namibia_discovered_by_europeans/index.php).

"Thompson, writing in the 1820s, estimated the presence of about 2,600 people in the various Griqua settlements of the time. Although no population estimates exist for the later periods, Thompson's editor, Vernon Forbes, suggested a Griqua population of 5,000 in the 1850s. This is not unreasonable given a slow increase during politically turbulent times. The number of Griqua who moved to Kokstad [Eastern Cape] in the 1860s is said to have numbered about 2,000 people. The number who remained in Griqualand West [Northern Cape] is currently unknown, but let us assume that it was perhaps a similar number, although Stow concluded that only some 500 Griqua were left in the Kimberley region after the trek. Given the hardship of the journey across the mountains, there was probably a slight population decrease in the first years, but a reasonable estimate of Griqua population in the late 1860s might perhaps be in the order of 4,000. Ross provides a minimum number of 2,150 in Griqualand East according to the census of 1878.

The 1980 census figures indicate that the category 'Griqua' includes nearly 100,000 people [across South Africa]. This is surprising in the light of the relatively small number of Griqua present in the 1860s. At a minimal annual population growth rate of 3% it is possible to expand an initial population of 4,000 in 1870 to a population of 100,000 in 1980. A sustained annual growth rate of 2.5% to 3% can currently be found in much of sub-Saharan Africa, but only very few are near the 3% level. Countries such as Mozambique, Uganda, Burundi and Sierra Leone fall between 2.5–2.6%, but these countries have only reached these growth rates in the last 50 years. Such high annual growth rates are typical of populations with falling mortality rates. There is no reason to accept that such figures would be typical of the historic Griqua until well into the twentieth century as well. It is therefore obvious that the current population of 100,000 is not due to natural demographic increase alone. The current population is explicable only in terms of a significant in-migration."

But Morris (1997) worked in the Imperialist–neo-Imperialist recent Griqua Cape origin framework, that includes the belief that the missionaries worked under the sum of the Griqua. Griqua population numbers at the missionary settlements were estimated at 2,600 in 1820; 5,000 in 1850; and 4,000 in 1860—but according to the 1980 census, their numbers had increased to 100,000. A high above average population growth of 2.5–3% per annum is necessary to achieve a population increase of some 4,000 in the 1860s–1870s to 100,000 in 1980; Morris doubts the increase as the result of natural population growth—especially under difficult socio-political circumstances—and argues it in consequence of significant in-migration.

The Griqua is known as a people who incorporated others, including KhoiSan, Bantu, and White settler—it is by many deemed a customary characteristic of them; but it is here argued that it played a much lesser part in their makeup than is advocated. The flawed belief that the Griqua at the mission settlements amounted to the sum of the people, lies at the heart of the recorded population discrepancy: the early British Colonial Griqua population estimates were based on numbers recorded at the mission settlements only—thus, including only the Grikwas who were deemed Griqua by the missionaries / authorities. But during the 1980 Apartheid era census, people who deemed themselves Griqua (who were of Griqua or mixed-Griqua descent, and associated with a Griqua identity), directly participated in the census—thus, including all Cape government unrecognised Grikwas, or Grikwas without a recorded and recognised missionary history, that then resided in the Republic of South Africa. It is argued that the 1980 recorded Griqua population discrepancy, is mainly the result of the inclusion of this category of Griqua—excluded from government recognition because of the flawed missionary–British Cape Colonial recent Griqua Cape origin construct—and supplemented only by limited in-migration. The population discrepancy recorded is, thus, summarised as the difference between government recognised Griqua vs Griqua tribal self-identification.

- 5) Morris' (1997) study comprised a morphological analysis (multivariate metric comparison of mainly cranial, but including post-cranial skeletal remains) of 28 adult skeletons, including 17 men and 11 women, from two series of nineteenth century Griqua skeletons: 1) 6/15 skeletons from the 1919 Brink series of

skeletons, excavated from “old Griqua stations” in Griqualand West, and 2) 22/35 skeletons from the 1916–1917 Tobias series of skeletons, excavated from an 1815–1862 cemetery (but mainly used during the 1840s and 1850s), situated some 4km northwest of Campbell. The aim of the study was to determine past generational genetic events in the makeup of the Griqua, or simply said, to determine the Khoisanoid, Negroid, and Caucasoid physical type composition of them.

Morris (1997: 109–110) thus explained his study results:

“The multivariate procedures indicate a mixture of characteristics seen in the crania of Negro and Khoisan peoples represented in the comparative samples, but the results are not consistent. The univariate and non-metrical data reveal a predominantly Negro morphological pattern, but with many Khoisan features. The Griqua sample as a whole has little morphological association with the Caucasoid comparative group in all of the statistical analyses. The males show more features reminiscent of Khoisan populations but most of the significant differences from the Negro reference sample are marginal and the general statistical trend is toward the Negro comparative sample. The reason for the ambiguity is the heterogenous nature of the skeletal sample, since any attempt to create an average Griqua morphology is difficult with such a range of variation. The diagrammatic display of the multivariate outlier analysis (Figures 1 to 3) clearly shows the great range of variation present in the Griqua sample. The outlier analysis is a graphic representation of each Griqua individual in comparison to the range of variation seen in the reference samples.

Despite the variability shown in the multivariate analyses, the assessment of statistical variability by means of the coefficient of variation and F-statistic indicates a biologically stable population. This implies that the mixture of populations has been occurring over several generations.

These results are clearly different from those of Brink. Brink’s pre-supposition that the Griqua are a simple cross-population of white settlers with native Khoikhoi [Khoes] is shown to be false. Their biological history is far more complex.”

And concluded that (Morris 1997: 112–113):

“The biological data provide only a framework for reconstructing the history of the Griqua people. The genetic and demographic phenomena beg interpretation, but their meaning only truly becomes apparent when they are seen in the context of the history of the times. The most obvious biological conclusions are three-fold:

- *Caucasoid genetic / morphological input is present but in much less quantity than would be predicted by simple models of Khoikhoi–European intermixture in historic times.*
- *The genetic / morphological picture is of a mixture of Khoisan and Negroid peoples not dissimilar from other ‘coloured’ populations of the rural North, East and West Cape Provinces.*
- *The numbers of living Griqua suggest that the current population is not made up solely of the descendants of the nineteenth century populations.”*

Morris’ (1997) study, thus, confirmed Caucasoid (European) admixture to the Griqua skeletal sample studied, but in too little quantity to support a recent Cape Khoes–European mixed-race origin hypothesis for the Griqua.

The broad marker range of metric variables (cranial analysis) in the Khoisanoid comparative collection (skeletons from the greater Cape Town and surrounds region) was not reflected in the skeletal sample studied by Morris—the 28 skeletons from the Griqua mission stations: only a narrow range of diagnostic Khoisanoid markers was reflected. This indicates a confirmed, but more confined biological history among the skeletons studied than that present across the broad KhoiSan phenotype. This may be interpreted as

reflecting tribal history, where people of the clans of one tribe would intermarry, rather than inter-tribal marriage, but similar studies of other Khoe tribes would be necessary to confirm or dispel this assumption. The metric analysis then also indicated some Caucasian and some Negroid (Bantu) admixture.

Non-metric analysis (post-cranial—the skeleton below the skull, or the body part) indicated that the 28 skeletons from the Griqua mission stations showed a strong tendency toward the Negroid phenotype, and notably different from that of the Khoisanoid comparative sample; simply said, they were taller and of a more robust build than is generally associated with KhoiSan peoples.

- 6) When Zimbo invaded the Giaques / Griquas homeland (1491–1592), he subjugated and incorporated many of them into the Muzimbas, and reasonably affecting many different Giaques / Griquas clans. He then instated the new Cassange system: he appointed *calendas* and other captains / chiefs, under the laws made by his concubine and military attaché, Tem-ban-Dumba (the first). His priority was the appointment of captains / chiefs loyal to him, not the maintenance of the tribal chieftaincy system, hence, the Giaques Cassange. Zimbo, thus, forcibly abolished the tribal chieftaincy system of the incorporated Giaques / Griquas; but Zimbo's subjugation did not, for example, extend to a forced change in settlement pattern of them—unlike in the case of the missionaries at the Cape, where the mission settlements were designed and approved by the mission societies' agents. When the Griqua of the Cape region joined these missions in the early nineteenth century they lost—either temporarily or permanently, based on, among other, their tenure of settlement at the stations and the degree of acculturative mission impact on them—their camp layout / settlement pattern system (or remnants thereof) that was still in use among them.

Under Tem-ban-Dumba (the second)'s rule in Angola, the distinct settlement pattern of the Giaques Cassange (or the *Gaghas*, as they were called by the Portuguese), and different from that of the Muzimba / Chilomba was still identifiable, and it was for said reason briefly described by Cavazzi and Labat (1732). They emphasised the semblance between the seven-post *camp arrangement* of the Giaques Cassange and that of the Roman model, arranged according to the functions of the seven principal camp officers or chiefs.

The Giaques Cassange settlement pattern centred around a central post that housed the court, the chief—or “prince” (also sometimes referred to as the “king”)—of the kraal's residences (including that of his wives, his servants, his slaves, and the more), as well as accommodation units for his six principal chiefs, for use during the course of official duties and when the camp was under attack. The central post is described as labyrinthian in layout, and it was surrounded with a wooden and defensive thorn fence. The second post was that of the *Golambole / Muta-Aita / Muta-a-Vlongo*—the second most important chief, and also described as the Lieutenant General, or the Captain of the Guards: he was, thus, in charge of the army or troops of the kraal, and he specifically also led the vanguard. The third post was commanded by the *Tendala*, the leader of the *Icoqua*, or rear-guard, who had military related juridical powers. The fourth post, situated east of the central post, was that of the *Mani-Lumbo / Mu-tunda*—the Superintendent and Chief Engineer, or the chief of camps, and in charge of camp locality identification and camp construction. The fifth post was located west of the central post and was commanded by a trusted officer who executed secret commissions. The sixth post was commanded by an *Illunda* (inferred to mean officer), or *Zuicumba*—the Captain of the Baggage. He was under the direct command of the Lieutenant General of the vanguard and was responsible for the weaponry. The seventh post was that of another *Illunda*, the grand master of the chief (“prince”) of the kraal's wardrobe, thus, a type of personal assistant to the chief of the kraal. The second to seventh posts do not seem to necessarily have had defensive thorn fences, but they were encamped with palisade-like wooden pole fences, that were manufactured in sections and then erected (Cavazzi & Labat 1732).

The settlement pattern is summarised as a labyrinthian layout pattern with a focus on the central post's pattern, that was surrounded with a wooden and defensive thorn fence. Six other posts were, at minimum, wooden fenced. The settlement pattern is notably different from the general circular based settlement

patterns of southern Africa—best expressed in the Iron Age Nguni Central Cattle Pattern (CCP) system—and underlain by square / rectangular shaped site features that comprised the kraal or camp.

The Giaques / Griquas settlement pattern, as described by Cavazzi and Labat (1732), would have been the basic pattern used by survivors of Zimbo's invasion in the setting up of their displaced camps, at their "*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*," "*Chimbelles*" and "*Chembe*," and other displaced refugee residings southward; as it is, likewise, expected to have been the settlement pattern of their "*Gouriqua*" station in Natal. The Giaques / Griquas flight southward should be traceable in the archaeological record in a manner similar—following settlement pattern—to that of many Iron Age tribes; a migration that should be traceable more prominently across the western part than the eastern part of southern African, if recorded historical (map) refugee residings are considered a reliable indicator. But fair variation in settlement pattern is expected, depending on the degree of impact and compromise for survival. Variables that should be taken into account in Giaques / Griquas site *in flight* identification are preliminary listed as:

- The size and composition of the surviving section—men, women, and children, and their numbers—that would have affected available skill in the reconstruction of their camps (and restructuring of their lives) at displaced locales, according to the framework known to them.
- The relative wealth of the surviving section—most importantly livestock—that would have affected the likelihood and degree of the restructuring of their lives, and the degree of compromise, such as resorting to special activities, the likes of hunting, fishing, and gathering on a more frequent basis than during their pre-episodic impact state, and with multiple episodes of impact and restructuring reasonably applicable, the further southward they were displaced.
- Sites would be based on a square / rectangular feature pattern; and would be notably ephemeral in nature—as was also emphasised by Cavazzi and Labat (1732). The Giaques / Griquas settlement pattern—labyrinthian-like based on square / rectangular site features—may well have been used by other Khoe tribes as well (with degrees of variation). But Khoe camp or site layout patterns with an underlying circular pattern are also known and was, for example, described by the early Cape Dutch for the Cochoquas [Cochona(s) / Cochoqua(s)] (Leibrandt 1897).
- The natural environment of the displaced residing, with regard to available resources that could be used in setting up camp, and the comprises related to non-traditional improvisation where material were not available.
- The cultural environment of the displaced residing, with specific reference to inter-tribal contact, and the possible incorporation of displaced sections by other Khoe tribes, that may or may not have built their camps on the same basic pattern as the Giaques / Griquas, and, thus, may have resulted in amalgamated or distorted site patterns. (Sections of displaced Giaques / Griquas may also have been temporarily assisted or permanently incorporated by Iron Age and San groups.)
- One important difference between Giaques Cassange and Giaques / Griquas site *in flight* patterns would be site features related to a self-sustainable pastoralist lifestyle. Under Zimbo, as well as under Tem-ban-Dumba (the second), the Giaques Cassange were subverted into a cannibalistic lifestyle: site features related to livestock keeping would be absent. However, at Giaques / Griquas sites *in flight*, features related to livestock keeping, or tangible attempts to revitalise their pastoralist lifestyle, would be present.

But no archaeological sites, with specific reference to the Giaques / Griquas flight southward, and in support of a more distant northern origin has, as yet, seemingly been identified; a truly curious anomaly considering, among other, Cavazzi and Labat's (1732) record of their northern origin. The anomaly is described as less of a case of *evidence of absence*, and rather one of the *absence of evidence*: paradigmatic

bias and sub-standard research are argued as root causes in the problem of archaeological site identification (coined with relevant ethno-archaeological consultation). Such pre-(Colonial) contact, square / rectangular based Khoe sites, as they should be classed in South Africa, are the last vestiges of the Giaques / Griquas (and reasonably, some other Khoe tribes') southward migration—and they are non-renewable resources. Under the pretext of broad blanket heritage perceptions, including that *all Africans settled / built on a circular basis* prior to Colonial impact, and with specific reference to the western part of southern Africa, where Giaques / Griquas sites *in flight* are more readily expected, the mistaken notion that the Dutch / Boers were the first to move into the northern hinterland with an underlying square / rectangular site feature pattern, are particularly problematic. Unnumbered Giaques / Griquas sites may be misidentified, and many may already have gone lost, based on their misidentification as insignificant *trekboer* sites. Unless the root cause of this problem—neo-Imperialist paradigmatic bias—is addressed, more sites will at best go unidentified and unresearched, and in a worst-case scenario, be lost / destroyed.

[The greater Ovambo group of tribes of northern Namibia and Angola, with their labyrinthian site layout and cum pastoralist–Iron Age lifestyle is interesting, but discussion of them falls outside the scope of this report.]

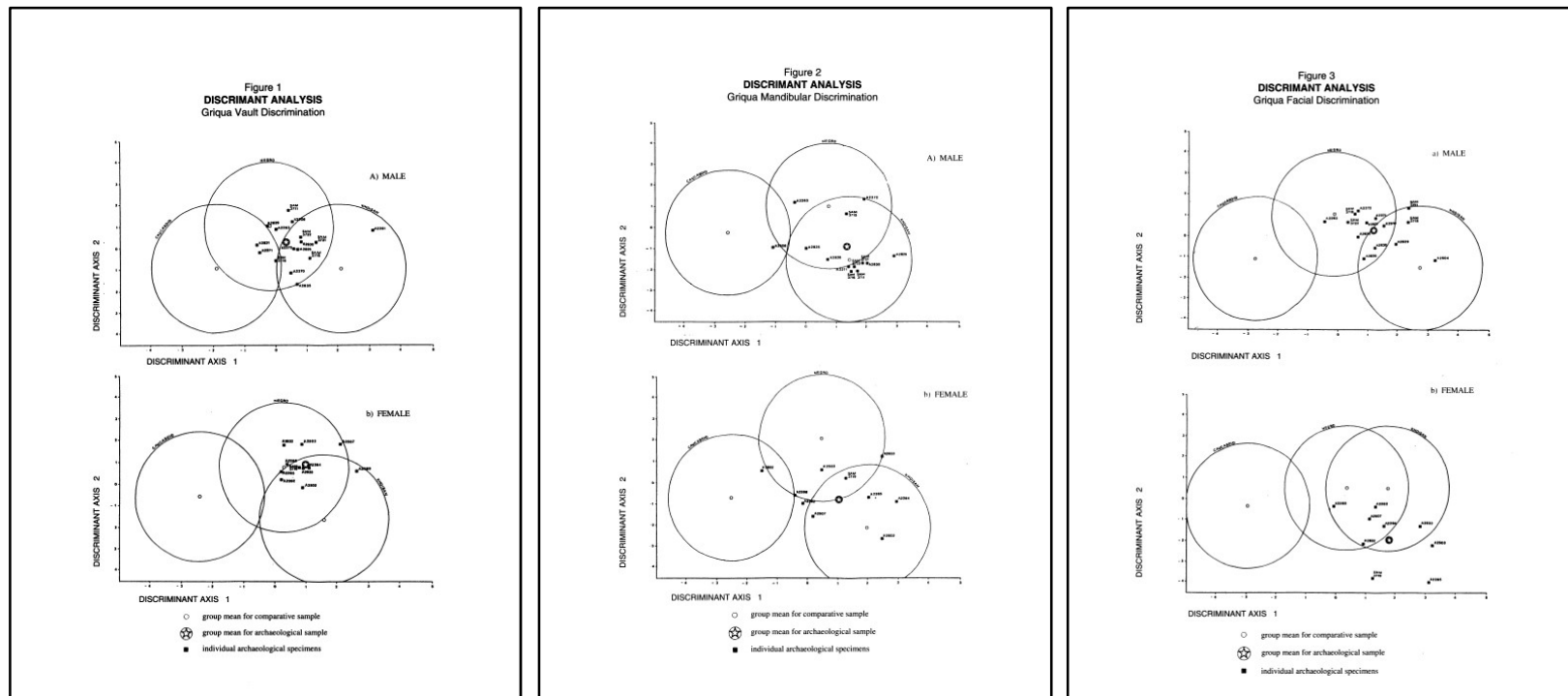


Figure 1: Results of Morris' (1997) morphological study on Griqua skeletons

Summary: There is no scientific evidence in support of the current neo-Imperialist seventeenth to eighteenth century mixed-race recent Griqua Cape origin paradigm—not biological or historical evidence; the Imperialist–neo-Imperialist paradigm is, essentially, anti-scientific, and it could be argued as an anti-scientific construct of cultural subversion. Morphological biological evidence indicates some Caucasoid admixture to Griqua variability, but of too little quantity to support a recent mixed-race origin of the Griqua. Historical evidence records a Giaques / Griquas “homeland” in the Congo / provincial regions of the Kingdom of Monoemugi, that was invaded by Zimbo, leader of the Muzimba, between 1491 and 1592. Subsequent impact on a southern, displaced “*Giaques ou Galles / Galies*” principal residing, situated north-east of the greater Okavango–Lake Ngami region, recorded circa. 1663, as well as episodes of impact on other displaced residings, resulted in survivors increasingly fleeing southward and south-westward for purposes of refuge, where they came in contact with the Dutch and English of the Cape Colony, after which some physical and cultural amalgamation occurred.

Neo-Imperialism—the dominant heritage ideology of the democratic era—is argued as disadvantageous to some South African culture groups, including the Griqua, for reasons described above. But the ideology is fervently supported—by academia as well as interest and rights activist groups—and any opposition thereto is ardently negated: ridicule and belittlement set aside, threats, violence, and the more are not unknown in the *battle* to advance and maintain the ideology’s *liberal* ideas and ideals, in order to *right the wrongs* of perceived past exclusionary and racist histories. But the neo-Imperialist idiom—like its predecessor, Imperialism—is underscored by missionary inspired cultural and historical constructs of the British Colonial Period when it was used by the then Cape government for socio-political purposes.

The Imperialist version of Griqua history—the recent mixed-race Griqua Cape origin paradigm—and ultimately the result of the missionary–British Cape government consortium, merits critique: the missionaries mainly reported on contemporary Griqua leaders, hardly comprising what would be described as *historical researches* into their past; and daily encounters dominate their records, rather than an attentive collection of cultural information about Griqua practices and customs. The missionary focus was the Christian conversion of the Griquas—their work undoubtedly had its advantages, but it also had its disadvantages, especially when considered in light of the negative impact on Griqua heritage including, among other, poor quality genealogical and historical inquiry, the loss of indigenous knowledge systems, settlement layout, and the more.

Fair questions about the missionaries’ much hailed historical and cultural contributions are, thus, well warranted. But any questioning of the missionaries’ doings inevitably turns to the very questioning of generations of heritage researchers’ contribution to the subject matter, and the indiscriminate reintroduction and support of neo-Imperialist missionary *histories*, in the stead of impartial research. Generations of heritage specialists came armed with tools the missionaries did not have: the scientific method; specialist heritage fields coined with the principle of interdisciplinary science; community consultation and critical evaluation of oral history skills; and the more.

South Africa is known as the world leaders in KhoiSan studies, and the fervent and arduous support from both academia and the interest and rights group sector for the neo-Imperialist recent mixed-race Griqua Cape origin idiom, in the absence of supporting scientific evidence therefor—but with biological and historical evidence contrary thereto—is a curious case. After the British annexation of the Cape in the early nineteenth century, the Griqua of the Cape region was found to be people who rode horses, had rifles, and wore Western clothes, and this is sometimes proffered as proof of their Cape origin. But unless a dataset is forthcoming proving an unequivocal association between Cape origin peoples, horses, rifles, and Western clothes, such superfluous statements must be disregarded as scientific proof of origin, and signals at most commodities available at the Cape, and that the Griqua acquired, in a manner similar to, for example, the acquisition of rifles, wine, and cloth by native peoples at other Western trade centres, such as from the Portuguese at Angola or Mozambique. And hence, raising the question of what underscores the patronage to a historical paradigm that is not supported by scientific evidence. Some may argue it for reasons of paradigmatic relevance and publicity. Others may argue it a case of sophistry vs science, or science vs the *Keepers of the Paradigm*. There are no answers to the question, and no answers are expected to be forthcoming soon; any further contemplation of the matter falls outside the scope of this report. All that can be said at this stage, is that a non-scientifically supported scientific theory—such as the Imperialist–neo-Imperialist

recent mixed-race Griqua Cape origin construct, contrary to biological and historical evidence—can, technically, be described as a scientific hoax—and in the case of the Griqua, in scale, exceeding that of the Piltdown Man¹².

In the experience of the author, there are still Grikwas holding onto a northern, more distant origin of their tribe. But they are denied the right to impartial research into their history, because of the dominance of neo-Imperialism as principal ideology in the heritage and socio-political sector. If a case is to be argued, that the Griqua was denied their right to an impartial representative history under the preceding Apartheid government, like they were under the Union government before it, and the British Cape government before it, when the recent Griqua Cape origin construct was constructed—then the argument would equally apply to the denial of their heritage rights under the current democratic government. But the difference between the democratic and previous regimes is that under democracy, all South Africans, irrespective of culture group, have—by law—equal rights to their heritage.

3. CAVAZZI AND LABAT, 1732, THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP OF WESTERN ETHIOPIA, CHAPTER VII (ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

Relation Historique de L’Ethiopie Occidentale – The Historical Relationship of Western Ethiopia (Cavazzi & Labat 1732)		
Chapter VII		
P88	Intro	<i>On the origin of the Giaques [Grikwas] in the Kingdom of Matamba and the neighbouring provinces. On their kings and their elections [government]. And on the queen Tem-ban-Dumba of their conquerors, and her laws.</i>
	Par 1	In the previous chapters we discussed the various barbaric practices [of the peoples of Africa], including those of the extraordinary kingdoms of Angola, the Congo [Kongo], and the Matamba.
	Par 2	There is abundant information available on the subject, and it is necessary to return to the topic at hand.
	Par 3	We begin with the Giaques, the peoples called by the Italians the <i>Giaghi</i> , or the <i>Giaki</i> . It is a people who came from a far distant place, that was intruded upon by the kingdoms of the Congo and the Matamba. Their assailants attacked in waves of ferocious fierceness and cruelty. In an inhumane manner, and with the use of fire, they devastated and massacred the Giaques; and they defiled the survivors. The Giaques recall these events with great pain.

¹² “The Piltdown Man was a paleoanthropological fraud in which bone fragments were presented as the fossilised remains of a previously unknown early human. Although there were doubts about its authenticity virtually from the beginning (in 1912), the remains were still broadly accepted for many years, and the falsity of the hoax was only definitively demonstrated in 1953. An extensive scientific review in 2016 established that amateur archaeologist Charles Dawson was responsible for the fraudulent evidence.

In 1912, Charles Dawson claimed that he had discovered the ‘missing link’ between ape and man. In February 1912, Dawson contacted Arthur Smith Woodward, Keeper of Geology at the Natural History Museum, stating he had found a section of a human-like skull in Pleistocene gravel beds near Piltdown, East Sussex. That summer, Dawson and Smith Woodward purportedly discovered more bones and artifacts at the site, which they connected to the same individual. These finds included a jawbone, more skull fragments, a set of teeth, and primitive tools.

Smith Woodward reconstructed the skull fragments and hypothesised that they belonged to a human ancestor from 500,000 years ago. The discovery was announced at a Geological Society meeting and was given the Latin name *Eoanthropus dawsoni* (‘Dawson’s dawn-man’). The questionable significance of the assemblage remained the subject of considerable controversy until it was conclusively exposed in 1953 as a forgery. It was found to have consisted of the altered mandible and some teeth of an orangutan deliberately combined with the cranium of a fully developed, though small-brained, modern human.

The Piltdown hoax is prominent for two reasons: the attention it generated around the subject of human evolution, and the length of time, 41 years, that elapsed from its alleged initial discovery to its definitive exposure as a composite forgery” (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piltdown_Man).

	Par 4	<p>But what was the cause of all this? The Congois had received the word of the Father by the preaching of the Gospel about the year 1491*. They had so attached themselves to the Word, that there was no reason to believe that they would resort to their former superstitious and irreverent ways. But they had reverted to their old ways, and in a manner more barbarous than before they had received the Light of Faith. Was this the punishment for their ingratitude, for fleeing from the Word, and for their apostasy? They cracked and broke before God, and He abandoned them.</p> <p>They were an enemy, whose numbers far exceeded that of the Giaques. They were cannibals, thieves, and murderers by profession—without honour and without humanity.</p> <p>They entered / rose [?] unexpectedly in the Kingdom of Congo. With sudden violent outbursts of attacks their bands ravaged the land with iron and fire in extraordinary barbarity.</p>
		<p>*The earliest evidence for Christianity in the Democratic Republic of Congo dates to the late fifteenth century. In 1491 King Nzinga of the Kingdom of Kongo [Nzinga aNkuwu / João I, circa. 1470–1509] converted to Roman Catholicism after contact with Portuguese explorers—and adopted the Christian name João. His conversion facilitated trade with the Portuguese and increased the status of the kingdom in the eyes of the Europeans. His successor, Afonso I [Mvemba aNzinga / Afonso I, circa. 1456–1543], travelled to Europe where he studied religion. The kingdom adopted a form of Catholicism that was recognised by the Papacy (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christianity_in_the_Democratic_Republic_of_the_Congo).</p>
P89	Par 1	<p>Through similar invasive barbaric wars, Asia and Greece, Italy, France, Spain, and the northern part of Africa were conquered. Forts [strongholds] in the north were subjugated by the Goths, the Visigoths, and the Ostrogoths, the Huns, the Vandals [?], the Scythians, the Arabs, and the Teures [?].</p> <p>By special permission from God, the Giaques were saved from the heresies and crimes of their assailants. But before burying the details of the cruelties committed against them, it is necessary to comment on their origins and their troublesome experience.</p>
P90	Par 1	<p>Two opinions are held about their origins. It is feasible, and perhaps truest, that they came from some of the provinces that are part of the Empire of Monoemugi, or from the vicinity of those regions. They described the place of their origin as a land between two rivers, believed to be the Nile and the Zaire rivers. The supporters of this theory base their opinions on the antiquity of their customs. They were called <i>Giakafi</i> or <i>Engagiaghi</i>—both names in their language denoting a people from that region. The recollections of their origins are not judged; but they are questioned on good grounds, because the vicinity of the Nile is perfectly well known to us, and it is very far from Monoemugi. The same cannot be said of the Zaire River region, though, because we do not know the area well enough, and they are neighbours to that State.</p>
P91	Par 1	<p>The seconde secured with fortifications the coasts of Africa that bordered the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the mountain lands named Sierra Leone—or the mountains of Lyons—that are located about ten degrees north of the equator along the coast.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The second opinion is, therefore, less likely than the first, because it would have required these peoples to have crossed the vast meadows that comprise Guinea, the dregs of Judah, Andra, and all the other regions of western Africa, before arriving at and penetrating the terrain of the kingdoms of Congo and Matamba.</p>

	Par 3	It is, thus, better to hold onto the first opinion—but to question whether the Giaques had originated on the shores of the Nile, while recognizing that they may have come from the provincial regions of the Empire of Monoemugi, albeit not knowing from which specific provinces. Their history is somewhat interesting, but very uncertain.
P92	Par 1	The Giaques had certainly endured the privations, and still do, that had been thrust upon them by thieves, murderers, and cruel cannibals.
	Par 2	They were formerly called <i>Aineeki</i> ; in flight they were renamed <i>Nft-di</i> , or <i>Ngindi</i> , or <i>Chiambagali</i> —all of which are synonyms and refer to the same people.
	Par 3	But they are deceitful and liars to the point; truth and good faith was never known among them. They were always ready to conspire to the greatest crimes, and then committed them. They also captured and murdered other humans, and then devoured the cadavers. They were more ferocious than the fiercest of beasts, and it was among them a mark of bravery and greatness of soul to attack the cruellest of animals, and then to kill them cruelly. They were not to be fooled by those they regarded as their enemies, nor by their own. To complete our description of them, it is fair to say that few dared to approach them.
	Par 4	The chief under whose leadership the Giaques were subjugated, when he entered / rose [?] in the vast state of Congo by war and seized part of it, was called Zimbo.
P93	Par 1	Zimbo and a woman—at least as formidable as him in war—led the military campaigns. But it was the woman who oversaw the making of new laws; laws so savage and inhumane that they still haunt the Giaques.
	Par 2	It is from Zimbo and the woman that the <i>Cassange(s)</i> of the Giaques came, the Calendas and other captains [chiefs] of them.
	Par 3	<p>Zimbo, greedy for misunderstood glory, and more war, carnage, and booty, declared himself the leader of the multitude of Muzimba—peoples from various nations and places—that he had subjugated.</p> <p>With threats of execution, Zimbo succeeded in forcing his foes into subjugation. He encouraged his enemies to flee before him, with their weapons in their hands; but assured them that his victory would follow closely in their footsteps. However, if they submitted to him, Zimbo guaranteed support of their enterprises in exchange for their commitment to his ambition to build a powerful empire that would reach to all corners of the earth.</p>
	Par 4	<p>Zimbo's proposals for submission were received with great appreciation. All of his subjects agreed to obey him and bound them inviolably to his fortune.</p> <p>Zimbo was at the head of a great many people, and accompanied by the woman, a concubine of his, named Tem-ban-Dumba—whose name he changed to the official title <i>Temban-Dumba</i> [to designate "law maker"]. Together they travelled through the different Muzimba provinces, and without encountering any problems, they settled down in the centre of the Kingdom of Congo. But their rule laid waste to the land and its people.</p> <p>Their continuing wars, burning of villages, looting, and murders soon resulted in famine and need. But they, instead, declared war on the people of the land and in no time, it turned into a general massacre. No one could stop them. They attacked even the strongest strongholds in their domain: no one and nothing was spared, neither human nor animal.</p>

		<p>Muzimba subjects were defenceless as Zimbo and Tem-ban-Dumba's troops, in clouds of war, crisscrossed the land. Hunger became widespread and rampant. Nothing escaped their ire and wrath, not even the fruits and the garden plants, or the roots and the herbs.</p> <p>They had accustomed themselves to their long-term pursuit of living on human flesh; when no human flesh was to be had, they did not hesitate to feast on the foulest carrion. The once forest land of plenty became desert-like, virtually devoid of people and animals alike, and burned to the ground.</p>
P95	Par 1	<p>Zimbo's troops had increased, so to speak, to near infinity, and the Congois had joined him for reasons of survival and the life he had promised them.</p> <p>Wanting to know the size of his army, Zimbo, after a few months, ordered a general review of his troops. His army was of prodigious size, and he decided to embark on more war. Many of his troops died in the wars, and sometimes he feasted on their bodies.</p> <p>Zimbo declared war against the states of Ethiopia bounded by the Oriental [Eastern] Sea. Some troops penetrated the Zaire border regions; others went as far as the Zambezi. In the Zambezi region the Mumbi allied with Zimbo's troops. Until that time the Mumbi had no occupation other than raising their herds, but they were a resilient people, accustomed to many hardships. They resided in the Empire of Monoemugi—that Zimbo's forces ruined by iron and fire. Nothing could stop Zimbo in his advances, aside from the eastern sea.</p>
P96	Par 1	The Portuguese in south-east Africa had built an impressive fortress at Tete.
	Par 2	<p>Zimbo had assigned to the Mumbi an important leader, named Zuizzuva—a brave, furious, and ferocious man. Zuizzuva believed that every war had its price, but that it was necessary to succeed. He was very brutal in his ways: after having had devoured the flesh of his enemies, he had their skulls and the largest bones cleaned and used it to decorate the walls of his house and pave his veranda. His house resembled a tomb or a temple, and the bones of his enemies, his idols of worship.</p> <p>The Portuguese challenged Zuizzuva in battle and killed him. He was slain with many of his army in the Portuguese lands.</p> <p>But Zimbo swore revenge on Zuizzuva's death, and rushed to the Portuguese lands, with an army even more numerous than that of Zuizzuva. Zimbo defeated the Portuguese. The Captain General of the Portuguese led the main battle against Zimbo but was brutally killed, as were many others, even those who sought the safety of the fort. Zimbo inflicted the greatest torments on his foes and killed them in the most barbarous ways. Afterward, he had all their heads put at the end of spears, as trophies to his victory.</p> <p>Among the Portuguese was a member of the Order of St. Dominic, who had followed the Christian troops as their chaplain. Zimbo's troops killed him in the cruellest manner, because he had encouraged the Portuguese during the battle and afterward had preached salvation to the prisoners. After the chaplain's death, and to mock the Faith and the Religion, Zimbo dressed himself in the priestly robes, and with the chalice in his hands, paraded the chaplain's head throughout the Tete region with his troops.</p>
P97	Par 1	It is as it is—God permitting to record the crimes of the Muzimbos and the havoc they wreaked in the lands, provinces, and kingdoms they invaded.

		<p>They arrived without resistance at the isle of Quiloa [Kilwa], inhabited by Moors and Mohamedans. They entered with the intelligence aid of one of the inhabitants, and thereafter for a while made him the mayor of the place. But the traitor enjoyed very little of the fruits of his betrayal, and soon learned that among the most barbarous of peoples, even those who love treason would become traitors again.</p>
P98	Par 1	<p>After Zimbo had crossed the river and had discharged the booty of his troops, he chained the surviving inhabitants—some he kept enslaved, while others were killed. One of the first he had killed, was the traitor who had assisted the Muzimba in the capture of the town: he was sacrificially burned.</p> <p>The name and reputation of Zimbo, and of his cruel conquests, reached far and wide. Peoples fled their homes upon word of his approach—they preferred risking their lives to be killed by wild beasts, rather than to fall into the cruel hands of Zimbo and his troops, that were tainted with blood and human flesh.</p>
	Par 2	<p>Zimbo and his troops left a trail of devastation and desolation everywhere they went.</p> <p>At the isle of Mozambique, that was founded by the Portuguese, the inhabitants prepared to defend themselves against Zimbo's advance. But the European fleet that was to come to their aid, was wrecked at sea and fortune, once again, favoured Zimbo when he made himself master of the isle. Zimbo and his troops did not leave the isle of Mozambique until hunger pressed them to do so—there was no one left to kill and eat and, thus, Zimbo decided to proceed with his murderous campaign.</p>
P99	Par 1	<p>Zimbo took the road to the kingdom of Melinde. When he was on the border of the state, the people of Melinde considered fleeing to the desert.</p> <p>But the King of Melinde convinced his people that there was no honour or glory in fleeing from a troop of thieves. He reminded them of their past victories, and that they had won battles against more seasoned enemies than Zimbo's troops. He offered to lead the battle against Zimbo himself, and resolved to fight until the last blood was spilled. He called on God to righteously support the people of Melinde in the war against Zimbo's barbarous horde of murderers and plunderers.</p>
P100	Par 1	<p>The King convinced his subjects, and they declared to him that they would win or die fighting by his side.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The battle was fought a few days later. It was a long bloody battle, but the King of Melinde had the advantage, and Zimbo's troops were defeated in the historic fight. No thought was given to the lives of his barbaric troops, who did not deserve to be spared. Only those with speed enough to save them from the scythes and the swords of the victors survived.</p> <p>But significant riches were plundered from Melinde by Zimbo, who escaped with a remnant of his troops.</p>
	Par 3	<p>Zimbo could not return to the places he had already traversed, because he knew there was no food and that the inhabitants who had returned, would take revenge against him and his diminished troops for the cruelties committed against them. Therefore, he separated his troops into platoons; in smaller numbers they found it easier to subsist. Zimbo and his platoon took the desert road, and wandered all the way to the Cape of Good Hope. Finding nothing of value there, he turned back north and marched toward the equator until he reached the Kunene River [Namibia–Angola] that has its source in</p>

		the province of Scella [?] and in the upper Bemba, and that mouths into the sea at around the seventeenth-degree meridian latitude.
P101	Par 1	There Zimbo and his people, heavily reduced in number, settled down. They built some houses that comprised their poorly constructed village, and named it Chilombe in their language. Zimbo divided his people into bands and gave titles of <i>chiefs</i> to the leaders thereof, while he stayed in general command of them all.
	Par 2	One of the chiefs, Dongij, advanced into the province of Gangholla [Gangholla → Ga[A]ngholla → Angola], that is part of the Kingdom of Matamba, with his concubine Mussasa. They named their daughter Tem-ban-Dumba, out of respect for Zimbo's concubine and military attaché. Dongij and his people permanently settled in the province and its vicinity and, thus, in the country that bears the name to this day.
P102	Par 1	Two other chiefs who seized two other provinces, named the provinces Domba and Candegna.
	Par 2	<p>But Zimbo had a warlike spirit, that did not allow him to live a peaceably settled life after his many journeys and military campaigns. He again amassed many peoples, planning another campaign, when he suddenly died. Zimbo and Tem-ban-Dumba died at the same time—but is not known how they died.</p> <p>After Zimbo's death, the chiefs he had appointed did not want to recognize another general leader presiding over them all; they wanted to be independent from one another. Each chief remained the head of his band [or tribe] and they stayed in the lands they had already occupied.</p>
	Par 3	This is the history, the origin, and progress of the Muzimbas and of the [incorporated] Giaques, or <i>Gaghas</i> , as they are known by the Portuguese.
	Par 4	It is unnecessary to follow the history of Zimbo's chiefs any further, because it would trail too far off topic. Only the history of the second Tem-ban-Dumba* will be discussed.
		<p><i>*"Tembandumba was a ruler of the Jages of what is now Angola. Tembandumba's mother was Mussasa, whom she rebelled against and declared herself queen. After taking power, she organized the Jages for war by demanding that infants be killed by their mothers and their bodies pounded into ointment, which was mixed with herbs. In order to enforce this decree, she assembled the tribe and pounded her own infant son to death on a mortar and prepared the ointment. She then rubbed it on her body, declaring that it would make her invulnerable. The women of the tribe immediately imitated her actions with their own children. She eventually encountered resistance to this practice in the tribe, and had to resort to using only male infants captured in war for the ointment. Tembandumba was described as being repulsive and having only one eye, having lost the other in battle. According to a 1910 European source, she would take lovers, but would kill them after a brief dalliance. She was eventually poisoned by one of her lovers"</i></p> <p>(https://www.definitions.net/definition/tembandumba).</p>
P103	Par 1	<p>After Dongij's death, Mussasa, heir not only of Dongij's worth but also his ferocity and ambition, continued to rule with their daughter, [the second] Tem-ban-Dumba.</p> <p>Mussasa was skilled in the art of war, and she was cruel and bloodthirsty. These skills and qualities she passed on to her daughter. Mussasa and Tem-ban-Dumba, armed like men, put themselves at the vanguard of their troops where they faced the greatest perils. They were always at the forefront of a war, and were the last to withdraw.</p> <p>Mussasa had identified Tem-ban-Dumba's warlike qualities—her sternness, her courage, and her decision-making skills—at an early age, and had endeavoured to</p>

		<p>develop it. Resultantly, she had put Tem-ban-Dumba at the head of some troops, while she busied herself with other undertakings.</p> <p>But the young Tem-ban-Dumba knew her mother well. Proud to see herself at the head of troops and with many victories won, she no longer wished to obey her mother. Without losing her military prowess, she surrendered to the pleasures of love. She had many men, and when she grew tired of them, she had them killed. When confronted by her mother, Tem-ban-Dumba openly revolted against her and declared war.</p>
P104	Par 1	<p>Tem-ban-Dumba's people both feared and respected her. They saw her as a woman of valour, who had led the bravest of their chiefs in war and had advised them well in administrative matters. She saw herself as the leader of all who followed her, including the peoples she had subjugated. She resolved to renew the cruel laws that her ancestors had instated, believing that it would be an infallible way of ascertaining her power and authority. She, however, knew that the old laws did not carry the sentiments of the people. But she decided that no opposition or disobedience to the laws would be tolerated and, hence, that she should start with the toughest and most difficult of them.</p>
P105	Par 1	<p>Before reinstating the old laws, Tem-ban-Dumba wanted to test them. She wanted the laws to be written with the tip of a dagger on her subjects' hearts, rather than them being the proverbial <i>pen on paper</i> laws. She, resultantly, called as many of her subjects together as she could.</p> <p>She chose an innocent from the crowd [inferred to have been her own infant child], but instead of caressing the innocent like a mother, she beat it to a pulp and then threw its body into a pot. Tem-ban-Dumba pounded the innocent's body in the pot. She did not care about the cries of the innocent, or that of the crowd. She pounded the innocent's body until it turned into a paste. She added roots, leaves, and oil to the pot, and fanning the fire to heat the pot's contents up, she made an ointment that she assured the people would make her strong and powerful in war.</p> <p>She told her subjects that the ointment would, likewise, make them infinitely brave in battle and war, and that together they would become the terror of Africa, and subjugate its peoples to the furthest corners of the earth.</p> <p>The ointment she had made was preserved in vases as a sacred substance.</p>
P106	Par 1	<p>Tem-ban-Dumba's abominable example was followed by her subjects and much more ointment was made. It is unknown how many died for purposes of making the ointment. Primarily infants, but also children and adults died in the making thereof.</p>
	Par 2	<p>All her chiefs partook in the usage of the ointment on condition of her example.</p>
	Par 3	<p>Then Tem-ban-Dumba ordained the new laws—which is still observed among the [incorporated] Giaques—that the ointment should be rubbed on all the warriors' bodies before war in the presence of the peoples; that all the warriors should be dressed in men's clothing; that all the warriors should be armed with a battle axe; and that she would put herself at the head of the troops.</p> <p>Thus, she said, they were to go to war—in a fury of violence all their enemies would be slain; not even the creatures of the earth or the forests would be spared.</p>
P107	Par 1	<p>Tem-ban-Dumba told her people that she proclaimed her laws in the name of Zimbo—<i>he, who had subjugated many nations</i>. She told them that if they followed in Zimbo's footsteps, then fortune and glory would be with them; and fear and terror would precede their advances before they even attacked. She promised them that she would</p>

		expand the Empire of the Muzimbas to all corners of the earth, but provided that her subjects support her, and observe as an inviolable law never to never give quarter to their enemies and to always treat them in the cruellest of ways, and to never show them any compassion or kindness. She assured her people that in that way they would follow in the footsteps of their ancestors, and win as many victories as there would be battles. And that they need not fear hunger for as long as there was life on earth; she told them that they would drink the blood of their enemies and subsist on their flesh as food—they would sacrifice their enemies to their protégé, Zimbo, and to their ancestors.
P108	Par 1	Tem-ban-Dumba declared herself Queen of her people, and she promised them that she would always lead them in their military campaigns. She told them that they should not fear her unquenchable thirst for sex, because it gave her courage, and her courage would make them a great nation.
	Par 2	Her address was received with great applause by her people. They all swore obedience to her and promised to execute her laws and wishes, even at the cost of their own lives.
	Par 3	Thereupon, Tem-ban-Dumba confirmed her laws and named it <i>Zuixilles</i> . It comprised both domestic and supreme laws.
	Par 4	<p>All her people were filled with ridicule and cruel superstition; she forbade them to observe the religious Word, and she assured them that her ways had always been in use among their ancestors.</p> <p>She also forbade her subjects to eat pig, elephant, and snake—this she did to ensure that they would always be hungry and, thus, become accustomed to her laws. The slightest disobedience to her laws was punishable by death.</p>
P 109	Par 1	In addition, she prescribed certain superstitious ceremonies that had to be kept before undertaking journeys and military campaigns, as well as before eating, drinking, going to bed, and other daily chores and functions.
	Par 2	Tem-ban Dumba's laws were initially implemented in small increments. But the chiefs, in their commitment to her, soon found the means to implement them all—and with the most extravagant measures. The chiefs were committed in their obligations to her, and they brought anyone who dared to contravene her laws publicly before her.
	Par 3	As for the chiefs, they were particularly careful in their work for the cruel Tem-ban-Dumba; they were the most zealous followers of her impious sect, and they served her with admired commitment.
	Par 4	<p>It is indeed an astonishing thing that his benevolent Dom Salvador, the Governor of Angola for Portugal, a wise and valiant captain, who had retaken the city of Loanda in 1648 from the Hollanders who had possessed it for seven years*, had send ambassadors to Queen Zingha [Queen Njinga Mbandi, 1581–1663, of the Kingdoms of Ndongo and Matamba], and to the Giaques Cassange [or the incorporated Giaques], the Callonga, and the Chilomba [Tchilombo] to invite them to live in peace with the Portuguese and his Majesty, the King of Portugal. The ambassadors pleaded with them to abolish their inhumane laws, and to adopt new ones that would be given to them by preachers of the Gospel that the governor would send to them.</p> <p>Dom Salvador had given his ambassadors presents to give to the representatives of the peoples, as a means of winning their savage hearts and bringing them into his fold.</p>
		*Portuguese presence on the Angolan coast dates to 1482 / 1484, but settlement mainly followed the 1575 / 1576 establishment of São Paulo de Loanda [Luanda]. Loanda was granted the status of a city in 1605, and was Portuguese Angola's administrative centre from 1627 onwards, excepting during the period of the Portuguese War of Independence against the Spanish, when the Dutch ruled Loanda

		from 1640–1648, after which the Portuguese reasserted their control over the city (and Angola) until the Independence of Angola in 1975 (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonial_history_of_Angola).
P112	Par 1	Queen Zingha was baptized, but she had returned to her old superstitious ways. Her apostasy made her an even greater enemy of the Portuguese than she had been before her conversion. She received the Portuguese ambassadors and the presents they brought her; she was appreciative of the gifts from Europe that the Governor General had send her, but she did not agree to the protection alliance the ambassadors tried to negotiate, and she remained determined in the preservation of her own laws.
P113	Par 1	The meeting with the Giaques Cassange and the representatives of the other two nations turned out somewhat differently: they not only appreciated the gifts, but invited the ambassadors to visit again, and in exchange sent a good many slaves with them as gifts. They [the Giaques Cassange and the Callonga] told the ambassadors that it was not possible for them to abolish their laws, but they agreed to stop the execution of infants and to punish all those who continued with the practice. They honoured their word, and since that time there were no further infant executions. But they continued to practice their other cruel laws.
	Par 2	But we digress—it is time to return to the subject matter.
	Par 3	Tem-ban-Dumba (of the Chilomba nation) also realized that her own cruel laws were harmful to her people; the killing of all men would eventually destroy her people—and, thus, she decided to soften her laws. She ordered that boys caught in war would be allowed to live; as men they would be of service in her armies or elsewhere. Besides, Chilomba women could take them as husbands, and they could be brought into the hereditary fold where they could enjoy the other advantages of being part of her people.
P114	Par 1	But she was less lenient when it came to amending the laws for women, who were required to kill their new-borns after giving birth. Under her new law, pregnant women were still required to leave Chilomba society before giving birth—if the child was a boy, they were required to kill it, but if it was a girl, they could keep it.
P115	Par 1	Additional rules, however, pertained to the children she allowed to live. If the teeth of the upper jaw came out before those of the lower jaw, the child had to be killed, because such children, Tem-ban-Dumba argued, would grow up to be strong and would in adulthood ruin nations the likes of the Giaques.
	Par 2	She made the same rule, for the same reason, for all the children of all her subjects.
	Par 3	But with the exception of Chilomba women. They were still condemned to the killing of their children [boys and girls]; to them beating their infants to death and making ointment of them according to the recipe called <i>Magi ja Samba</i> , that has been described. Birth arrived for Chilomba women as a wicked and profane event, that took many ceremonies to purify. This is how the Devil mocks the work of God; and persuade these people to commit the most heinous and abominable acts against their own offspring, while convincing themselves that there is something holy to their deeds.
P116	Par 1	Tem-ban-Dumba knew that, in the long run, the tenderness of the mothers would prevail over her cruel laws. Mothers would recall the forced killing of their children, and so would the fathers; and husbands may revolt against their wives for having had

		<p>agreed to the cruel acts, ultimately rising against her for having had instated the abominable laws in the first place.</p> <p>To address the storm on the horizon, she appointed overseers to administer her cruelty. She commanded her overseers to keep watch over every pregnant Chilomba woman, and to force them to kill their infants, as prescribed by her laws. If a woman, however, found the act to repugnant, the overseer could allow the killing of a substitute infant, such as a slave child, in the stead of the mother's own. If the child was a girl, and allowed to live, the girl had to stay outside of the Chilomba territory until she had teethed. Only once she had passed the teething test, and had been anointed with the <i>Magi ja Samba</i>—or had received the idols of Chilomba—was a girl incorporated into the Chilomba nation.</p>
P117	Par 1	<p>Because Tem-ban-Dumba had not made that much of the ointment, she knew that it would not last forever. She ordered more to be made of infants caught in war and of infants of principal members of the state, who would voluntarily offer their infants for the making of the sacred substance.</p> <p>The ointment was kept in vases, which were stored in the same place where the first batch of sacred ointment was kept, and some of the first batch of ointment was always mixed with the later brews.</p> <p>The ointment was regarded as sacred and essential: it gave physical strength, vigour of spirit, courage, cruelty in war, as well as safety and protection to the anointed—all being characteristics of the Giaques nation.</p>
	Par 2	<p>Anointments were celebrated occasions: when the Chilomba announced an anointment, all the people would gather, and they would dance—for a very long time—with all their strength, vigour, and energy, until they were tired, and their feet were sore.</p>
P220	Par 1	<p>Women would hide their infants in makeshift bush skermes and join the celebratory dancing and singing, where they would meet those who believed that they were the fathers. After dancing and singing with the fathers, the women would show them the hiding paces of the infants. The fathers would pretend to <i>discover</i> the infants; they would pretend to reach out to their infants, to touch them, and caress them, and save them from the hiding places.</p> <p>Immediately after the ceremony, the fathers would be anointed; using the hoof of an animal with <i>Magi ja Samba</i> medicine, the fathers would be touched on their breasts, shoulders, and right arms. The anointment purified the fathers. The following evening, the mothers would take the fathers to the Chilombe headquarters, where the fathers would observe the ceremonies prescribed by the Chilomba chiefs.</p> <p>No one disobeyed the laws or contravened the ceremonies, because they believed the practices to be in their best interest. Mothers did not complain about sacrificing their infants, because they held it to be for the greater good of the people—the lives of their children were offered for the honour of the people, and they were spared the punishment for disobedience. Moreover, by participating in the ceremonies, the Giaques were sanctified into the [spiritual] <i>body</i> of the Chilomba.</p>
P121	Par 1	<p>We already commented on the scale of slaughter of infants—as if they would destroy the nation if they were allowed to live.</p>
	Par 2	<p>As for those infants born with deformities, they were looked at in horror, and were not admitted into the Chilomba nation.</p>

	Par 3	<p>Infants whose mothers were too poor to pay for the gift of life, were slaughtered by anyone who found them.</p> <p>Infants with deformities, whose mothers could afford their survival, did so on the condition that the deformed part was to be amputated: this could not be done without these children being exposed to possible death.</p> <p>The <i>Singbillis</i> and the other principal captains [chiefs] derived considerable profits from the misfortunes of the people. They fed on the flesh of the children, and drew from mothers with means all of their possessions, in order to save the lives of their children.</p>
P122	Par 1	It is believed that Tem-ban-Dumba mainly forced her subjects to eat human flesh, to keep them accustomed to the abhorrent and detestable. It was a necessary precaution: because of the warlike demands of life, they did not have the time to provide for their subsistence through cultivation of their lands. If they had not resorted to cannibalism, they would have been exposed to the horrors of hunger.
	Par 2	They preferred to capture and enslave men: the strongest and most ferocious of them were kept as slaves, and the more delicate ones were eaten.
	Par 3	They desired female flesh. Tem-ban-Dumba had, by virtue of her own sex, reserved for them the honour of sacrificial deaths devoted to the ancestors. They believed that female captives would serve them in the afterlife—they would have a need for slaves in death, as they did in life.
P123	Par 1	The hope of becoming a wife or concubine in the afterlife, compelled many beautiful young women to be sacrificed by choice.
	Par 2	The desire to eat women's flesh had awakened the appetites of the cannibals, who would have been penalized, if they were exposed and caught doing so outside the framework of the law. But that did not prevent them from feasting on women, if the opportunity presented itself.
		<p>In this part of the world, as elsewhere, the people in authority and those with means have nothing to fear; laws for them are nothing other than cobwebs, that they can manoeuvre around to get what they want.</p> <p>The head [chief] of the Giaques Cassange was a rich and powerful man, and nothing pleased him more than feasting on the flesh of young women. Women were killed every day for this purpose, and he and his friends feasted on the meals they were served.</p>
	Par 3	<p>This lord even accrued to himself that which belonged to others, including other chief officers and chiefs. He instigated war against them, for the sole purpose of getting hold of their women and concubines.</p> <p>Nothing was more compelling at softening the judgement of the soldiers than the example of their leaders, and this lord was always in the company of women—two or three at a time—either being served at his table, or dining with him. The soldiers began to follow his example. And increasingly women joined the sect of the Giaques.</p>
P124	Par 1	The abuse of the system became so widespread, that steps were no longer necessarily taken against offenders. This lord knew his subordinates well, and he knew that the women would report anything suspect to him. Upon such a report from the women, he at once suspended his army, because he knew that he was in the company of enemies, and he decided that it was best to outwait the bad omen.
	Par 2	The women were not forbidden from partaking in life: they appeared in public, attended to the weapons, and prepared meals for him and his guests. They had the same rights and were as capable as anyone else to address general issues that arose.

P125	Par 1	The [Chilomba] Legislator proclaimed that young as well as sterile women, who wanted to join the sect of the Giaques, were to give notice. Such notification was deemed brave and courageous, because women joining the sect increased the numbers of the Giaques. Such women were, however, obliged to withdraw from the Chilomba. But it was deemed a joyous event, like a day of feasting, and they could take their ornaments and articles with them.
	Par 2	Besides, sterile women, after having reached a certain age, were put to death. They were not useful to Chilomba society, because they did not bear children to be used in the best interest of the community or to increase its numbers. They were condemned to death, because of the loss they caused the state.
	Par 3	The missionaries had little information, but they knew that cruel and dishonest deeds were being committed. It was the invincible obstacle in the conversion of these people, that they always reverted to the word of the preachers of their idols, rather than the word of the preachers of the Gospel.
P126	Par 1	<p>The cunning and unaccountable officers took advantage of the situation. As soon as they heard something unfortunate had happened to newly converted Christians, they persuaded them that their misfortunes had befallen them because they had neglected the practice of their ancestral ceremonies, and had instead followed the advice of the Christians.</p> <p>The officers, thus, easily scared newly converted Christians into apostasy. And it was difficult for the missionaries to bring them back to the Faith. The officers destroyed more in a quarter of an hour, than the missionaries could accomplish in several days of assiduous, laborious, and often dangerous work.</p> <p>For example:</p>
P127	Par 1	<p>The authors and their acquaintances were particularly fond of a beautiful young woman, who was recently married. She was the daughter of a principal officer in the army of the Giaques Cassange. But the corrupt officers who targeted certain ceremonies, also targeted her marriage.</p> <p>These officers of the idols never failed in their wicked ways, and once their vengeance was enforced, it spread throughout the whole targeted family. Their handiwork caused an uproar, but without the protection of good officers and the prince [tribal chief subject to the Chilomba], those targeted by them did not stand a chance. It was not uncommon for them to simply stone and then devour their targets.</p>
	Par 2	<p>In some circumstances the general officers would not report to the army, but instead sent an intermediary in their place under the pretext of some excuse, such as being sick. The fate of the intermediaries was regarded as of little consequence, and it afforded the officers the opportunity to not expose themselves to the law, that required them to also lead the women in war.</p> <p>But when the army demanded the officers' presence, and the officers needed their female soldiers, the officers ensured that they made use of women of a lower rank, who meant little to them. They ensured that their principal wives were left at home, managing their homesteads' administration in their absence. The officers promised their wives, before they left for war, that they would keep the best parts of their enemies—their hearts and brains—and share them with their wives upon their return, in a ceremony of solemn reciprocal faithfulness.</p>

		<p>This ceremony, or oath, was an event of quite incomprehensible discovery: upon the return of a husband from war, he presented to his wife the hearts and brains of his enemies that he had slain with his own hands. If the wife accepted what was presented to her, and tasted or ate it, she was judged as having been faithful to her husband. But if she found that presented to her too repugnant to taste or eat, it was seen as a sign that she did not love her husband, and had not kept their marital fidelity—and was thereupon sentenced to death.</p>
P129	Par 1	<p>Our acquaintance found himself present at the time when a quarrel arose between several Giaques who had returned from war. One of them wanted to make his wife, the officer's daughter mentioned, eat the flesh of his enemies. The young woman found the piece presented to her—already spoiled and decaying—too abhorrent. Resultantly, her husband judged her unfaithful and wanted her killed.</p> <p>The parents of his wife, however, opposed the judgement. They showed him that the meat he requested their daughter to eat, was no longer in a state to be eaten and, hence, that his judgement of her unfaithfulness was badly probed. But the young husband persisted. Our acquaintance then intervened in the debacle, to avoid the events that would have unfolded. He arrested the husband and his fellow conspirators, who already had their axes raised for their planned deed.</p>
P130	Par 1	<p>It was the law, not to touch meat prepared by an <i>unclean</i> woman; and the Europeans became aware of this law.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The most brutal and obscene of the <i>Zuixilles</i> that the Legislator proclaimed—and that her officers had to observe—was a ceremony before they departed on any expedition. They had to take the hand, and lead the wife most dear to them, amid a great circle of people assembled in a public square. In public, they had to do their wives, without shame, the action that is kept for the most private of places.</p>
	Par 3	<p>Tem-ban-Dumba had persuaded her subjects of infallible victory in her military campaigns—or at least, her ambitions thereof. She made sure that her army always had enough of the <i>Magi ja Samba</i> ointment, and that they used it correctly. She carefully taught them the composition thereof, as well as the particulars of the ceremonies when they had to use it.</p>
P131	Par 1	<p>She so convinced the Giaques of the potency of the ointment and the practices related thereto, that they thoroughly believed therein and came to rely thereon—and they feared running out of ointment when they left the Chilomba for expeditions. They carried with them mortars, pestles, and other necessary utensils to make the ointment. And when they ran out of ingredients to make it, they, on their own accord, took what was necessary from people who were still virgins: this condition was believed to be absolutely necessary in the making of the ointment.</p>
	Par 2	<p>Among the Giaques, the ministers of the sect were known as the <i>Singhile</i>: they were the medicine-men, the enchanter—or, for lack of a better word, the charlatans. It was a very lucrative profession, and they had recipes for a number of evils. They taught their profession to those who paid them well, and in return their students were made to believe that they would never be hurt, poisoned, or killed.</p> <p>Their unfortunate students—deceived by the charlatans—rushed into battle with desperation and fervour, and without any discretion or prudence. Despite them being convinced of the power of the ointment and the practices related thereto, many of them died in the wars.</p>
P132	Par 1	<p>The charlatans had their excuses ready, when they were reproached with the insufficiency of the medicine—they said that those who had died, had not paid the</p>

		<p>necessary attention to their advice and lessons. The <i>Singhile</i> convinced the people that the ointment was infallible in itself, and that those who had died, had made its potency useless by their own negligence: if death had befallen them, then they had deserved it.</p> <p>They always had excuses: '<i>Such and such</i>,' they would argue, '<i>came out of the fight without a single scratch. They killed many enemies and took just as many slaves. They returned loaded with booty. Why is that? Because they had executed exactly what we had prescribed.</i>' Such feeble reasons excused the <i>Singhile</i>, and they smiled at the gullible people—who would again come to buy their evil medicines.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The barbaric laws had made the Giaques greedy for human flesh; the most ordinary cemetery for the dead had become their bellies, and after they had acquired the taste, human flesh became delicious to them. If human flesh was lacking, they took recourse with their slaves. But they also saw nothing wrong with eating the flesh of their friends or children.</p>
P133	Par 1	<p>Only persons of considerable importance, because of their employment or who had distinguished themselves by some great deed, were safe from the laws—as we have mentioned elsewhere. If, based on their merit, they were regarded as extremely respectable by the community then their bodies, upon death, were buried in wooden pods, that were covered with animal skins, cloth, and some plant matter.</p>
P134	Par 1	<p>These chests [or coffins] were named <i>Musotti</i>, and the Giaques kept them with great respect. The <i>Musotti</i> were objects of their worship, and at times the funerary chests were displayed in their ceremonial processions.</p>
P136	Par 1	<p>The Giaques were subject to many of these evil recalls. We had sneak views into their practices, and we were privileged in having them; but the practices always turned to the advantage of the masters of the craft.</p> <p>Their minds could not be appeased, except by the bloody sacrifices of men and animals, and when there were no more enemies to kill and sacrifice, they turned to their slaves. The <i>Singhile</i> forced this character of shame upon their subjects, and they revelled in their own handiwork. They satiated themselves at the expense of the lives of their unfortunately immolated victims. Whatever the <i>Singhile</i> asked, the subjects obeyed, and at the penalty of their own most horrid actions.</p> <p>The <i>Singhile</i> imagined themselves bringing great relief to the ancestral souls to whom they offered their sacrifices. The throats of their victims were cut, and their heads split on a sepulchre. That way, they believed, the ancestral spirit could best refresh itself when the blood of the victims was still forcefully flowing. While the sacrificial ceremony took place, the people danced around. Thereafter, they tore the bodies of the victims to pieces, to extinguish the last drop of blood from their bodies, believing that in doing so they transitioned not only themselves, but also the souls of the victims.</p> <p>The people had their own needs that they had to satisfy—to change [or transition], protect, and maintain themselves, they could not lack the blood they needed to rejoice in. When the cannibals assembled, they sacrificed all and any human bodies, and devoured them cooked or raw, with the meat still fresh or already decaying, and of the healthy or sick.</p> <p>They could not be reproached for their sacrificial deeds, and they did not lack heart and ferocity in their funerary meals—they sought no other glory.</p>

P137	Par 1	Thus were the cruel laws of the savage Tem-ban-Dumba's <i>Zuixilles</i> , and that she imposed upon and was adopted by the Giaques. They venerated her as their Sovereign Lady, and the upkeeping of her laws was the premise of the sect of the Giaques.
P138	Par 1	<p>Every day, Tem-ban-Dumba made work of keeping the sect of the Giaques up. In order not to give too much time to her subjects, so that they could not reflect on the evil with which she was filled and that she imposed, she occupied them in war. She declared war even in the most remote provinces, that were, consequently, filled with her ordered carnage and spilled blood. One of her main weapons, thus, was the altered states of her warriors—who were willing to make enemies and war everywhere, because they resented everyone. She did not wait for some wrong to be done; no pretext was necessary for her to declare war upon a country or people. Mere disobedience to her law, was enough to incite her impious sect against a purported enemy.</p> <p>She did not allow any measure of confrontation, because anyone who confronted her, she believed, could gain a hold on her. And when her army lost in war, she simply trained new troops. She knew what measures to use to encourage her subjects to follow her law; she also knew how to remain victorious in the submission of her subjects when defeated in war, by means of imposing her evil laws.</p> <p>She seized several great provinces, that she could have turned into a considerable kingdom. But her cruel laws and the unbearable hunger of her subjects turned her lands into a place of desolation—like a desert, barren of people. All that was left, were the ashes and devastation of her army of butchers and destroyers; and they sure knew how to cook the bodies and devour those they had massacred.</p>
P139	Par 1	<p>Her army was constantly on the move, plundering everything they encountered, and she never stopped them. Those who lived through an encounter with her troops were deemed blessed; any resistance to her campaigns was met with utmost cruelty: her army slaughtered without mercy, drank the blood of their opponents, and devoured their bodies. They were trained, in principle, that all they encountered belonged to them, and that they would be held accountable for anything, or anyone left behind after war.</p> <p>Her dedication to, and recognition of the bravery of her soldiers, when they revealed their booty to her, was what encouraged them in war. She often made them gifts for the booty: she held feasts for them, in which European wine was amply used, but with her added ingredients that made it taste like ratafia or brandy, and with the very best aromas. She told her brave soldiers that she, their Sovereign, had raised them from the dust to their bravery, and the positions they held. By such measures she deferred resistance to her rule.</p> <p>She also gave important officers personal gifts. She sent women to their homes, whom they had to prepare meals for—this was one of her customs. She knew the officers would treat the women superbly. At the end of the meal, the officers would offer the women a heavily poisoned drink called <i>Zuilunda</i>, and the women would die immediately after they drank it.</p>
P141	Par 1	A Giaques officer, Culemba, appeared afflicted in excess. He pretended to commit suicide on the body of his wife, and acted the part so well, that it never occurred to anyone that it was an act of defiance, and that he knew who was responsible for his wife's death.

	Par 2	<p>Despite his pain for the loss of his wife, he did not lose sight of his interests—and he turned the minds of the Giaques so convincingly, that they recognised him as their king [Great chief]; and the Giaques made an oath of faithfulness to him.</p> <p>His manners were very much like that of the late Tem-ban-Dumba, but it did not occur to the Giaques that having him as their head would not make much of a difference and that they would not flourish under his leadership. Instead, they rejoiced, and celebrated the ascend of Culemba as Head of State.</p>
	Par 3	<p>But before we continue, it is necessary to first say something about the funeral pomp of the late Queen.</p> <p>A burial place at a high elevation was chosen for Tem-ban-Dumba. It is believed that the place was chosen with extreme diligence—a cave-like system extended below, with many look-alike chambers. The chambers were carpeted with the most beautiful canvas and fabrics from Europe, and with magnificent tarps and skins. Moreover, they were filled with ample drinks and meat for the deceased.</p> <p>Tem-ban-Dumba's corpse, dressed in her most precious clothes, was put on a throne, in the posture of a person in command. The militias, armed as in a day of battle, and accompanied by the whole court, marched at the head of a large convoy, while the first officers of the state carried Tem-ban-Dumba's throne.</p> <p>Culemba followed them, with his officers and friends. His cries were heart-wrenchingly awful. He begged the late Queen to give him back his wife. Many started to follow his example—a multitude of tears and cries spelled the heartbreak and despair of the people who had lost so many loved ones because of her laws. Their tears and cries interrupted the instruments and song of the musicians' and the prose of the poets' accolades to Tem-ban-Dumba. The noise from the procession was thunderous.</p>
P145	Par 1	<p>Then, we saw the numerous victims who were to serve Tem-ban-Dumba in the hereafter. Many offered their lives—out of their own free will—for this purpose; they offered themselves for the honour of serving their Sovereign in death. But the number of victims who were there by force, far exceeded those who offered themselves freely. Those who were there by force, did not share the excitement of the others, and they did not appear as if they wished to serve the late Queen in death.</p>
	Par 2	<p>After a long walk we arrived at the hill. The cries and barbaric music were more prominent than before, and during this time the officers lowered Tem-ban-Dumba's body into the cave—her corpse was placed with respect in the chamber, and at the place prepared for it. Afterward, the multitude of victims were sacrificed, and a large quantity of their blood was washed over her corpse. The funeral attendants also drank much of their blood, and they gorged themselves on the victims' flesh. The remains of the victims filled the look-alike chambers, without much room left for those who dedicated themselves to be buried alive in service to her.</p> <p>The ceremony lasted several days—and at the dire expense of many unfortunate slaves, who were slaughtered for the goodwill of the deceased, and to quench the appetite and thirst of the attendees.</p>
P146	Par 1	<p>When the funerary ceremony was completed, Culemba took the reins of the government. He prepared a great feast for the people: he gave the officers distinctions, and the people presents, and then he declared that Tem-ban-Dumba's laws would be fully maintained.</p>

	Par 2	At this time, there were among the Giaques important officers, whose courage, prudence, and cruelty were well known, and who were allied with Culemba. They were from large and powerful families, and included Calenda, Caotte, Cassa, Cabucco, Cajomba, and a few others.
	Par 3	<p>These principal officers commanded Culemba's troops. They had already ravaged all of Ethiopia, and had left nothing other than sadness, death, and the fires of devastation in their wake. But Culemba did not remain idle, and no sooner the officers carried his wars to places he had marked for them. They attacked, plundered, defiled, and subjugated the peoples of several provinces. But then Culemba fell madly in love with one of his newly acquired concubines, Bombaioce; he married her and declared her his true wife.</p> <p>Bombaioce was a wise and skilful person; and she won Culemba's heart so entirely, that he became quite a different person. With the same ferocity that he had previously waged his cruel wars, he now sought tranquillity. They had several children, and Culemba died in her arms, amid his most important officers. They rendered him their last duties by giving him the most respectful funerary service, as if he was a god of the second order.</p>
P149	Par 1	Bombaioce survived Culemba by many years—she lived to be a hundred or more years old. At the end she was so feeble and cold, that the slaves had to carry her outside to bask in the sun on a cowhide, a privilege that was afforded only to kings and queens.
	Par 2	Culemba's successor was named Chingurij. He was not Giaque, but from the same province. He was a man of the sect, and above all else loved to feed on human flesh. After his apostasy, he became more wicked than before, and carried his wars, weapons, and cruelty far and wide. He conquered many provinces and significantly increased the state, by the evil he stirred throughout the country.
P150	Par 1	Thus far we spoke about the origin of the Muzimbas and the Giaques, the succession of their chiefs, and we addressed their laws sufficiently for our purpose here. More can be said about their laws, but the topic is also addressed by other authors.
	Par 2	The life of the Giaques forced them to wander in continual movement; their homes were as easy to build, as they were to destroy—and were called <i>Libattes</i> , or <i>Chilongi</i> . Their homes were simple heap-like huts, but the manner of their camp arrangement reflected the Roman model. We have seen many camps, we know many camp models, and are as certain of this as a fire before our own eyes.
P151	Par 1	The officer in charge of camps identified the location and was responsible for marking the camp out. Each camp was divided into seven sections; seven, being the number of the principal officers in command.
	Par 2	The central post was prepared for the prince [chief of the kraal], his family, officers, slaves, and those who served him. It was a large encampment [kraal], surrounded by a strong fence and thorn barricade, that in layout resembled a labyrinth.
	Par 3	<p>In this enclosure was the <i>Uffizi</i> [court], as well as the apartments and lodges of the prince, his wife, officers, and the more.</p> <p>In addition, all the important officers attached to the court had a house in the central enclosure, that was called a 'service house'—in order to serve the prince, or be used when they were sick, or in the event of danger, such as when they were under attack. In the event of attack, it was deemed criminal for an officer to move away from the central enclosure.</p>

	Par 4	<p>The second post was that of the Lieutenant General, or the Captain of the Guards—the <i>Golambole</i>, also called the <i>Muta-Aita</i> or the <i>Muta-a-Vlongo</i>; that is to say, the <i>Skipper of the Ship</i>.</p> <p>This officer had the greatest authority after the prince. He was a man of heart and experience: he was cruel and inhumane, and without compassion for the vanquished. It was his responsibility to uphold the ungodly <i>Zuixilles</i> laws. He gave the orders in war, he signalled the army's advance, and he led the vanguard. He made the decisions regarding encampments and decampments; and he directly consulted with the <i>Singhilla</i>, the leader of the religion, about the position of the <i>Chilongis</i> [encampments].</p>
P152	Par 1	<p>The third post was commanded by the <i>Tendala</i>, the leader of the <i>Icoqua</i>, or rear-guard. This officer was the first of those with the right to elect the prince and who, during the process of interrogation, governed the camp. This officer was a man of great experience, and who carried the interests of the people at heart. He was as respected as the prince himself, and could use his authority to judge the charged, especially if it was military related.</p>
P153	Par 1	<p>From the centre of the camp, the eastern post was under the command of the <i>Mani-Lumbo</i>, or <i>Mu-tunda</i>—the Superintendent and Chief Engineer. He was responsible for erecting the fence palisade sections that surrounded the encampments and the defence fencing at the prince's kraal. His office gave him permission to enter the house of the prince, for consultation, when he deemed it necessary or appropriate. He was, thus, a highly respected man, and the people wanted to be on good foot with him, for the sake of their protection.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The fifth post was located toward the west. In command of this post was a trusted officer, who received and executed secret commissions.</p>
	Par 3	<p>The sixth post was commanded by the <i>Illunda</i>, or <i>Zuicumba</i>—the Captain of the Baggage. He received and executed the orders of the Lieutenant General of the vanguard. His job required him to be a man of authority, pride, and cruelty, and who was obeyed and respected by the slaves. In peaceable times (if indeed these people had any), it was his job to replenish the stores with weapons, and to repair and maintain them, so that the weapons were always ready when needed.</p>
P154	Par 1	<p>Another <i>Illunda</i> was in command of the seventh post. He was, strictly speaking, the grand master of the prince's wardrobe. His office attached him so closely to the prince, that he seldom spent time away from the prince. A man of proven loyalty was, thus, chosen for this office—a rare quality in a country of thieves. But for this ordinary, loyalty was a requirement for his position and, hence, he was known as a <i>prince by blood</i>.</p>
	Par 2	<p>The <i>Mani Curie</i> was the officer in charge of food. The man chosen for this position was the most inexorable thief that could be found. He commanded a number of officers and slaves—all of them great scoundrels. They obtained the necessary provisions for the court; and they never ran out of provisions, unlike us Europeans. They were always on their guard, and their priority was the delivery of their <i>goods</i>, that for them was like money to us.</p> <p>Their <i>money</i> consisted of slaves, with good legs. The merchants' servants, upon receipt of the slaves, ensured that they were secured and marked with the merchant's mark, although, some slaves escaped. When slaves escaped, the merchants generally considered it a waste of time to recapture them; the merchants told the traders that it was up to them to deliver the goods for the price agreed upon.</p>
		<p>Slavery existed in Portuguese Angola since the late fifteenth century, when the Portuguese established contacts with local slave trading tribes, such as the Imbangala</p>

		<p>and the Mbundu. Slave trading activities centred on the <i>Atlantic Slave Trade</i> and with a focus on supply to the Portuguese Colony of Brazil. Slave trafficking was abolished in 1836 by the Portuguese authorities.</p> <p>Around 1612 Angola exported roughly 10,000 slaves per annum. Between 1617–1621 some 50,000 slaves were reported exported to the Americas only. By the 1750s slave exports amounted to between 5,000–10,000 slaves per annum (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery_in_Angola).</p>
P155	Par 1	Aside from the needs of the court, the <i>Mani Curie</i> had little authority, because no food was given to the troops who went to war; it was up to the soldiers to provide for themselves, as they saw fit, by plundering and stealing whatever they found from whomever it belonged to. The worst provisions they sourced, but most desired by themselves, comprised human creatures: they were good as found—the officers and slaves did not bother to cook them.
	Par 2	<p>There were also other officers, whose numbers and duties spanned a wide and interesting spectrum.</p> <p>What can be said, is that these savage courts—compared with those of other princes of the world—represented only misery and poverty.</p>
	Par 3	The Giaques fought on foot, because they had no horses, or had not learned the skill of using them. The most esteemed among them, were those who covered themselves best in war, who were the most alert, who avoided the blow of their enemy's axe with more skill, and who struck it more accurately upon their enemy. They were extremely flexible in body, brave, ferocious, and merciless of heart—they did not fear death.
P156	Par 1	The <i>Pinnibis</i> , or forerunners, were their <i>spies</i> . They were always on the move to discover the situation and numbers of their enemy. They also engaged in attack and combat, when their leaders deemed it appropriate, after which the army's troops fought the main war. The <i>Pinnibis</i> comprised of the bravest, most skilled, and determined of the soldiers.
	Par 2	In the prince's presence, no one had a chair. The <i>Go'ambolo</i> was the supreme authority or judge, and he had a chair, with a back, when he had an audience or judged cases of a civil or criminal nature. It is believed that they took this custom [the chair] from the Portuguese.
P157	Par 1	On certain occasions, the <i>Tendala</i> pronounced the sentences—but he was not allowed to have a chair. He sat on a seat that was about one palm in height; the seat marked his authority.
	Par 2	In conversations and during rites, they used small, poorly made wooden seats—strictly speaking, these were mere blocks of wood, or pieces of tree trunks. Or they spread pieces of straw [thin reeds], with several of them sewn together like a carpet or mat, that they called <i>Vangha</i> , on the ground, and sat cross-legged thereon, like our tailors do.
	Par 3	No one dared to spread their carpet in the presence of the prince. On occasion, an officer of rank would, if he did not mind being seen doing so in presence of the prince.
	Par 4	When they spoke to the prince, they were prostrate, with their mouths almost stuck to the ground; or they bowed, and remained in the position for the tenure of the conversation.
	Par 5	If the prince sneezed, or did anything that was deemed harmful or threatening to his health, those who were nearest to his person echoed his action, and with small tymbals they warned those more distant of the prince's possible health concern. At the same time, they clapped their hands, and made vows to the prince's good health. [Ω]

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

South African Griquas—a Khoe KhoiSan people—mainly reside in the Northern, Western, and Eastern Cape provinces. Their history, under the introduction of neo-Imperialism as principal heritage and socio-political ideology of the democratic era, and based on nineteenth century Imperialist missionary histories, portrays them as a people with a recent mixed-race Khoe–European Cape origin. Albeit known as a people who customarily incorporated others, including KhoiSan, Bantu, and White settlers, this has resulted in heritage and socio-political commentary, the likes of that they are a people *born out of incest*, who are the *product of rape*, and *non-African*.

The neo-Imperialist ideology, fervently supported by academia and the interest and rights activist sector, is argued as flawed with reference to Griqua history; the recent Griqua Cape origin construct is not supported by scientific evidence—not biological or historical evidence. The contents of this report allude to a fairly recent, albeit more distant history of the Giaques / Griquas further north in Africa, when their Congolese / provincial regions of the Kingdom of Monoemugi “homeland” was invaded by Zimbo, leader of the Muzimba, sometime between 1491 and 1592. It is suggested that the South African Griqua are the descendants of displaced survivors of possibly various subsequent invasive wars on their displaced residings. Expulsed and dispossessed Giaques / Griquas fled mainly southward and south-westward, where they came in contact initially with the Dutch at the Cape, and subsequently thereto with the British.

The post-1994 democratic emphasis on the neo-Imperialist ideology resulted in the Griqua being denied investigation into and access to their more distant history, negatively impacting not only on their heritage but also their human rights. It is, thus, requested that SAHRA / the relevant provincial heritage resources authorities (PHRAs) initiate(s) an impartial research program into their history to afford them their rightful place in the broader southern African historical and heritage cultural arenas.

It is recommended that the requested study be initiated under the National Heritage Resources Act, Act No. 25 of 1999 (NHRA 1999), with specific reference to Section 5(7):

5. GENERAL PRINCIPLES FOR HERITAGE RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

(7) The identification, assessment and management of the heritage resources of South Africa must –

- (1) Take account of all relevant cultural values and indigenous knowledge systems;
- (2) Take account of material and cultural heritage value and involve the least possible alteration or loss of it;
- (3) Promote the use and enjoyment of an access to heritage resources, in a way consistent with their cultural significance and conservation needs;
- (4) Contribute to social and economic development;
- (5) Safeguard the options of present and future generations; and
- (6) Be fully researched, documented and recorded.

And where the following definitions apply (NHRA 1999):

2. DEFINITIONS

(vi) “Cultural significance” means aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value of significance;

(xvi) “Heritage resource” means any place or object of cultural significance;

(xxi) “Living heritage” means the intangible aspects of inherited culture, and may include –

- (a) Cultural tradition;
- (b) Oral history;
- (c) Performance;
- (d) Ritual;
- (e) Popular memory;
- (f) Skills and techniques;
- (g) Indigenous knowledge systems; and
- (h) The holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships.

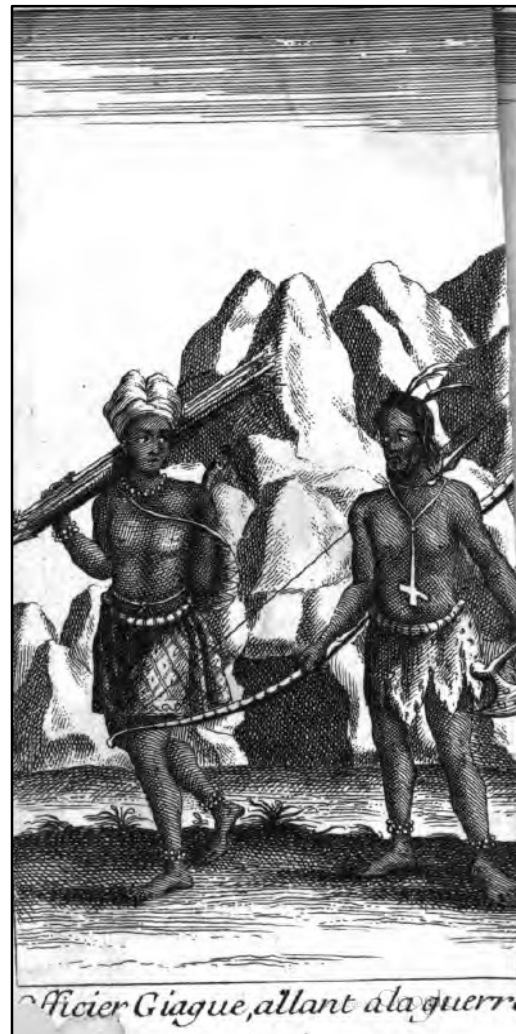
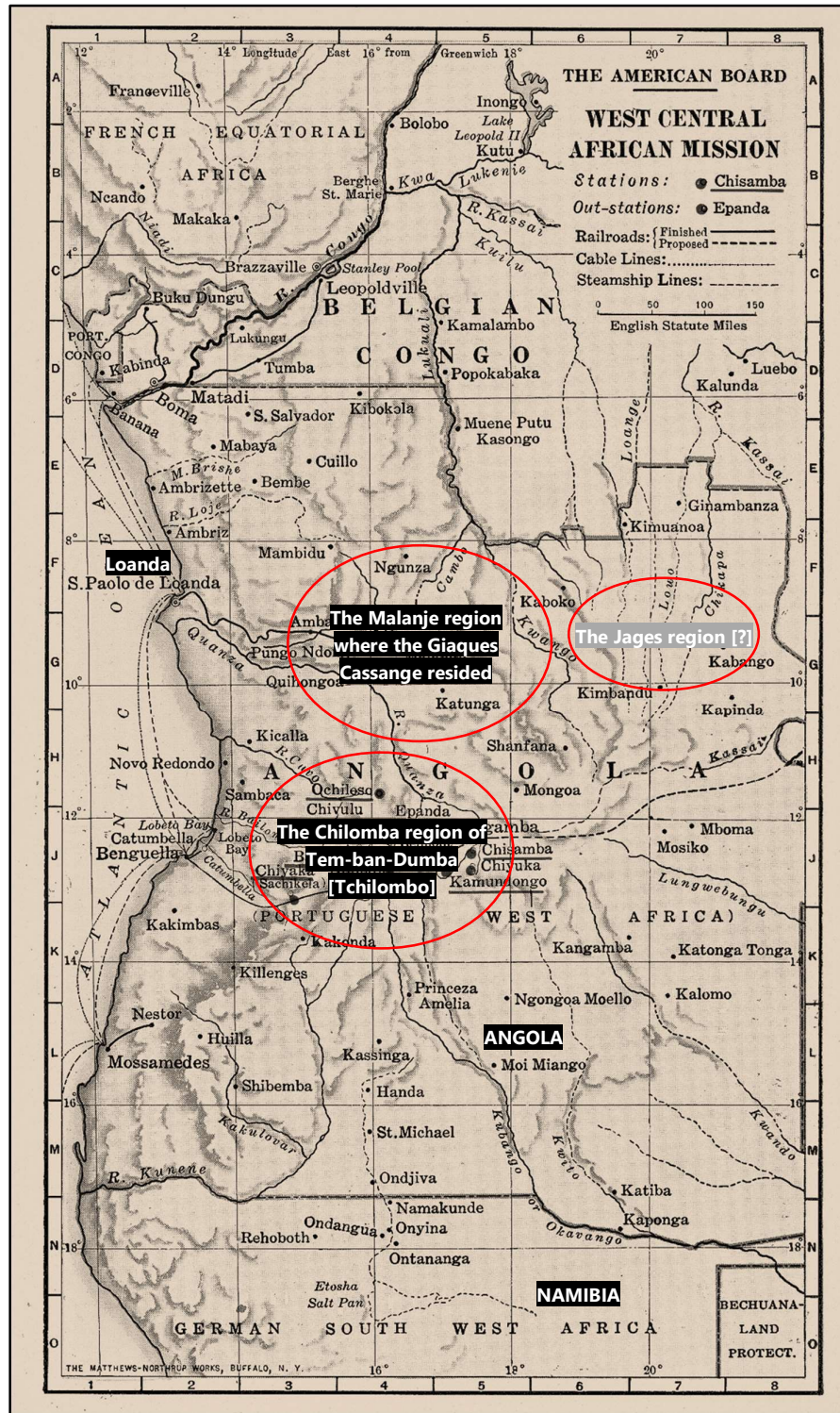


Plate 1: The Giaques Cassange (Cavazzi & Labat 1732)



Map 2: Map of Africa, published circa. 1692
<https://i.pinimg.com/originals/d2/d5/6c/d2d56cc5edbc8301607e4b36c87af13c.jpg>



Map 3: Map of Angola (undated)

(<https://www.mapsland.com/maps/africa/angola/detailed-old-map-of-angola-with-relief-railroads-and-cities.jpg>)



Map 4: Pierre du Val's map titled *Cafrerie et Monomotapa*, published circa. 1663
<https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/64847/cafrerie-et-monomotapa-du-val>

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Philip (1841: 428–464, 476–479, 511–512) – *The Life, Times, and Missionary Enterprises of the Rev. John Campbell*.

“Chapter XIV – His First Visit to Africa [~1812–1813 (<https://dacb.org/stories/southafrica/campbell-john2/>)]

[...] We were met by our friend, Mr. Kicherer, parish minister of Graaf Reynet [Graaff Reinets, Eastern Cape], with a horse wagon, in which he conveyed us with speed to his hospitable home. Glad was I to find that Mr. Burchell, who lately returned to Graaf Reynet, from making botanical researches higher up the interior, was not gone; but had kindly postponed his departure in expectation of my arrival. He was the first person who travelled direct, or in a straight line from Graaf Reynet to our missionary station at Griqua Town [Griquatown, Northern Cape], beyond the Great Orange River, by which route he thought we might accomplish the journey thither in a month. He returned by another way, which would require two months; but he recommended the shortest, as one of his Hottentots [Khoes] had consented to be our guide. During the afternoon I saw Martha and Mary, who were in England ten years before. They recollected Kingsland chapel, because they had spent their first sabbath in it after arriving in England.

At Vanderkervel's Place, where we spent the sabbath, Mr. Read, after preaching, asked Cupido and Boozak (converted Hottentots) to speak to the people, if they felt inclined, on which both addressed the heathens. Boozak said to them:

'Before the missionaries came to us, we were as ignorant of any thing as you are now. I thought then I was the same as a beast; that when I died there would be an end of me: but, after hearing them, I found I had a soul that must be happy or miserable for ever. Then I became afraid to die. I was afraid to take a gun into my hand lest it should kill me: or to meet a serpent, lest it should bite me. I was afraid then to go to the hills to hunt lions or elephants, lest they should destroy me. But when I heard of the Son of God having come into the world to die for sinners, all that fear went away. I took my gun again, and, without fear of death, went to hunt lions, and tigers [?], and elephants. You shall soon have an opportunity to be taught the same thing.'

Examined a cave on the side of a high cliff, separated from an opposite cliff, equally high, only by a few yards. Had great difficulty in reaching the cave. Michael mounted first, but, while ascending the rock, his feet slipped, when he rolled down into a pool of water, completely over his head, which appeared to the other Hottentots a mere trifle, for they only smiled and pressed forward. A friend from Graaf Reynet, who was tall and strong, carried me over his back. It was no easy matter to climb up the cliff to the cave's mouth, from the steepness and smoothness of the rock. A light being struck, we ventured in, with three candles. On the roof of the cave, which resembled that of a cathedral in miniature, hung hundreds of bats, fast asleep. Our lights awoke many of them, and they flew about us, to the no small danger of extinguishing our lights. Within the cave we sunk half way up the leg into their dry dung, which had the appearance of gunpowder, and probably had been collecting for many centuries. The bats hung by their feet attached to the roof, and so close together, that, at first sight, they appeared to be carved work on the roof. After viewing different apartments in the cave, which was singularly gloomy, we found considerable difficulty in returning, for the bats began to awake, and fly about, at one time putting out two out of three lights that we had, by flying against them.

At Mr. Vanderkervel's they brought me four Bushwomen [San women], and five or six Hottentot women, covered only with sheep-skins thrown carelessly over their shoulders. I addressed them by means of Mr. Kicherer, and a Hottentot girl, who understood the Dutch and Bushman [San] languages. None of them seemed to know anything of God, except one woman, who said her grandfather had told her there was a God, or Great Master. They appeared much pleased to hear that they were soon to be taught the same things that white people know. They showed me a Bushboy [San boy], who, when first brought there, they said, was as wild as a lion, and would bite any thing that came near him; no doubt from the horror he felt at being brought amongst white people, of whose murders of his forefathers he had probably often heard.

On travelling a little farther, we came to M. Pinnar's Place, the last habitation of white men in the colony. While conversing with some Hottentots, by means of an interpreter, I observed one man smile as if much pleased, on hearing that people were coming from a far country to instruct them. I visited a hut, standing at the foot of a hill behind the boor's [Boer's¹³] house, in which lived an old blind Bushman. We found him asleep in a sheep-skin, which was his only dress; indeed there was not another article in his hut. On awakening, he slowly sat up; and from the blackness of his skin, his long beard, and probably not having smiled for many years, he had an uncommonly grave and peculiar appearance. A friend from Graaf Reynet was my Dutch interpreter, and a Hottentot girl, about twelve years of age, interpreted into the Bushman language, kneeling on the ground, with her black sheep-skin thrown over her shoulders, and her clasped hands under her chin. She repeated to the old man what she was told, with a gravity that astonished me. A small group of children were staring into the hut. The poor man absolutely knew nothing; and when the girl told him that an institution was soon to be established, to teach him and others the things of God, which would make them happy, he intimated, in a very significant manner, that he understood what she told him, but that the report coming from white people, he would not believe it till it took place.

I was warned against going out of sight of the wagons, as wild Bushmen might be lying concealed among the rocks or bushes. We now commenced keeping watch after sunset. I observed that the Hottentots watched chiefly on the lee-side of the wagons; the reason for which I understood to be, that neither lions or Bushmen ever make an attempt from the windward side, because then the dogs soon smell them and give the alarm.

Being now beyond all roads, the boors having told us that the ruts of our wagon wheels would be visible for four years, and all who came after would travel according as they led, for centuries to come, they begged us to travel in the most level and direct way we could.

When approaching a fountain of water, where we intended to halt, two of the horsemen came galloping towards our wagons, on which my wagon-driver told me that they had seen a lion. On inquiring how he knew that they had seen a lion, he said he knew it by their faces. Like all Hottentots, he had excellent eye-sight, for, at the distance they were, I could distinguish none of their features. On reaching us, they informed us that two lions were crouching among the reeds below. All the wagons immediately drew up on an ascent opposite the place where they lay, with their wheels firmly chained, lest the roaring or appearing of the lions should terrify the oxen, and make them run off with the wagons, which frequently happens on such occasions. Thirteen men then drew up, about fifty yards from the lions, with their loaded muskets; and such as were only to be spectators stood upon a heap of rocks, about fifty yards beyond them, guarded by three armed men, lest the lions should not be wounded, or only slightly, and be able to rush upon us. When all was thus in readiness, the men below poured a volley of bullets towards the animals, when one of them, the male, made off seemingly slightly wounded: but the other, was disabled, so that it remained in the same position. The dogs ran towards her, making a great noise, but ventured no nearer than within five or six yards. On the second fire she was shot dead. A bullet was found under the skin, which she must have received long before, as the wound was completely healed. She had received many wounds from our people, especially a severe one in the mouth. She is now standing quietly in the Missionary Museum. The male ran up an ascending valley, between hills immediately opposite to where we found them. He halted twice, eagerly looking back for his mate, after which he went out of sight.

The conversation at supper naturally turned upon the feats of the lions and lion hunters, during which we heard the roar of a lion behind the tent, at no great distance; a little after, the roar came still nearer, which we believed was from the male lion, which had come in search of his mate. If he found her carcass, the boors who were with me said he would eat it. They asserted what is very horrid, that the Bushmen often throw their children to the lions to preserve themselves, which has greatly increased the desire of those animals for human flesh, especially the flesh of Bushmen; so much so, they said, that were a lion to find a white man and a Bushman asleep together, he would take

¹³ Boor means a "rude or insensitive person" (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/boor>). The author here refers to a Dutch / Boer farmer (boer meaning farmer in Dutch); the term boor is frequently used in early British Colonial histories to refer to the Dutch / Boer people.

the Bushman, and leave the white man. At present, in this part of Africa, it is said that these ferocious animals kill more Bushmen than sheep.

Now we parted from our friends, who had accompanied us thus far to the boundary of the [Cape] colony. At sunset we came to water which had been collected in holes during the late rain: this induced us to halt. Some of our stragglers brought us three young Bushmen, whom they had met on a journey. They possessed more lively and interesting countenances than the Hottentots. Their father, an old man, they said, was lodging in a hole among the rocks at a little distance. We informed them that we had come from a far country, had taught the Hottentots many good things, and designed to send teachers also to their nation. They said they were glad to hear it; and one of them offered to accompany us on our journey to the Great River [Orange River]. The other two went off with the food we had given them for their father: they carried along with them pieces of burning timber, to frighten away lions.

May being the first month of winter in this hemisphere, we found water in the bottom of a large dish completely frozen in the morning. The Bushman's family came to us at eight in the morning, consisting of the father, his two sons, with the wife of one of them, carrying a child about ten months old. When we engaged in prayer, (the nature of which had been explained to them,) they lay prostrate on the ground, in imitation of our Hottentots. The woman had rather an interesting appearance; her eyes indicated natural talent, and her child looked well, notwithstanding its copper colour. She gave me three rings made of cord, which her child wore on its arm; and I presented her with some beads to put in their place. The child wore nothing more than a few strings of berries as substitutes for beads, interspersed with circular pieces of the ostrich egg-shell. When preparing to shave, I held my looking-glass before each of them, who all expressed astonishment at beholding their own faces, which they knew to be their own, by opening their mouths wide and holding out their tongues, and perceiving this to be done at the same time by the figures in the glass. They all turned away their heads, and held up their hands before their mouths, when they first saw themselves, being disgusted with their own appearance. The woman, in order to be quite certain that it was herself she saw in the glass, turned round her babe that was tied to her back, and on seeing it also, she seemed satisfied. They were clothed in sheep-skins. At ten, two lions appeared at a little distance from us, which were first noticed by the Bushmen, who are much afraid of them. They told us, that some time ago a lion came and dragged a man out of his hut, and then devoured him.

Our being accompanied by the young Bushman, at this period of the journey, seemed a particular providence; for had he not been with us, we neither could have found grass, nor water, nor wood for fire in the evening. We had not seen a blade of grass during the day; but a little after sunset he led us out of our track, up a narrow pass between the hills, to a small sequestered valley, where there was a fountain of water, grass, and abundance of fire-wood. When I saw all this store so unexpectedly, I looked to the lad, as Elijah may be supposed to have looked to the ravens that fed him in the wilderness, as God's instrument for fulfilling his will to us in answer to prayer. He was cheerful and happy, appearing to consider himself perfectly safe with us; which was wonderful, considering how cruelly his nation had been treated by the colonists, in former times. We soon made a large fire of the turpentine bush, which was plentiful, and afforded both light and heat. The night became so cold, that while writing in the tent, I was obliged to have a hot stone under my feet. About ten, a wolf [hyaena] came to see what he could obtain from us; but our fires, and the barking of our dogs, obliged him to keep at a distance.

In the morning, I overheard the Hottentots telling the young Bushman the fine things he was likely to get, when we should arrive in Cape Town [Western Cape]. They told him, that probably he would get a looking-glass to see himself in, like that which I had held before his face; but, turning round his head, he said he did not like it. We sowed some peach and orange seeds near the fountain, which, if they come to perfection, may furnish the natives with food in their season.

Departed at noon, travelling over red ground, generally covered with tall heath. In the evening, a few of us, with the Bushman, walked considerably in advance of the wagons in search of water; he told us that there was no fountain in that part, but in consequence of the late rains, holes near the foot of the mountains were likely to be full of water. When it was dark, we heard a Hottentot call out, 'Water!' from a distance, but could not ascertain from what direction the voice came. 'Oh!' said one of the Hottentots, 'it is this way; for that carane [crane] (a fowl) we heard has

just risen from water;’ and so we found it; but there was not a blade of grass for the poor cattle—only heath bushes. We observed a bushman’s fire, upon a hill about twelve miles off. A short time after our fire was lighted, our horse Hottentots brought a young elk [buck] they had caught, about the size of a large calf, which was killed for the next day’s provision. They saw five lions in company, when chasing a flock [herd] of elks; and the lions followed the example of the elks, in running away.

For three days we had been ascending, but now began to descend, which we expected would continue till we should reach the Great River. At noon the thermometer was 68°, at one it rose to 80°, and at two o’clock to 86°. I did not expect to find the heat so great, even in the middle of an African winter.

Our Bushman had been generally asleep since joining us, except when eating, but he was now running with remarkable speed after our advanced party, to point towards water. He knew nothing about finding grass, it being no concern of Bushmen, who possess no cattle. A group of thirteen hills were in sight, all shaped like a sugar-loaf. Our oxen, for want of grass, had fasted nearly two days; but at three P.M., our hopes of relief were raised by observing smoke rising at a distance, as a signal from our horsemen that water was found. On reaching it, we were delighted to find both grass and water. On the oxen arriving, it was pleasing to see them running to partake of both, after fasting so long. Observing four lions a little to the eastward, we sent eleven men with muskets to endeavour to drive them away, to prevent their disturbing us in the night time, which they effected.

In the evening, I invited our young Bushman to the tent, with his interpreter, in order to have some conversation with him. I inquired what he thought to be the worst thing a man could do. It was some time before we could make him comprehend the meaning of a ‘bad’ thing; for he said he had never heard that one thing was worse than another. When he appeared to form some idea of the meaning of ‘bad’, I asked what he thought was the worst thing he had ever seen done in his kraal. He said they had often quarrelled, and when any of these quarrels ended in killing one another, it was fine; good sport; it showed courage. He said all their quarrels were about their wives. Being asked if he should consider it bad if any of the kraal were to take away his wife while he was with us, he answered, ‘Bad, bad.’ He said it was fine to take other’s wives, but not fine to take his. He said he never stole. At length he acknowledged it was bad to quarrel, steal, murder, and to commit adultery. On being asked which of these he thought was the worst, he said he could not tell.

I then asked him what he thought was the best thing a man could do. His reply to this question was extremely affecting. ‘All my life,’ said he, ‘I have only ever seen evil, and never any good, wherefore I cannot tell what is best.’ The questions appeared to him, however, as mere sport; for, in the very midst of the conversation, he complained that he had a bad cap. He informed us that a boor once came and attacked their kraal, and they knew not why; but he, and those with him, killed ten men, women, and children. We asked if his father had given him any good advice before he left him to come with us. He replied, ‘My father said I was going with strange people, and must be obedient, and perhaps I should get something; and, while with them, he would take care of my wife and child; and, when I got educated and returned, I should be able to teach them.’

Next day, our men who were in advance, saw three lions pursuing a herd of quachas [quaggas], who fled towards them: on seeing which, our men fled also towards the wagons, followed by the lions, but they did not disturb us. In the evening, some of the Hottentots were employed in teaching the Bushman the letters of the alphabet. After which he came into the tent, when I asked him what he thought the most wonderful thing he had ever seen. Answer. I do not think one thing more wonderful than another; all the beasts are fine. Q. If you could get anything you wished, what would you desire to have? A. I would have plenty of beads, knives, tinder-boxes, cattle, and sheep. Q. What other countries have you heard of? A. I have heard of the Caffres [Kaffirs – Bantu¹⁴], Dutch, and English; but I have not seen any English. Q. What kind of food would you like to have every day? A. Bread, and sheep’s flesh.

¹⁴ It is unlikely that a San would have used the term *Caffres*; peoples would have been called by their tribal names (real or given). The terms “*Caffres*” [Kaffirs] and “*Bantu*” were commonly used, but typically by Westerners: in the first case, it is adopted from *Old Arab* for the peoples of Africa (non-believers), and in the second case, it is a linguistic term coined and popularized from the mid-1800s onwards. The reference to *Caffres*, here, serves as an example of the process of translation and interpretation. It is reasonable to infer that the use of the term is either the result of the Khoe translator’s translation, interpretation, and explanation

I have observed three ways which our Hottentots have of baking bread. 1. They place the dough of a loaf on a gridiron over the fire. 2. They cover the loaf with hot ashes on the ground. 3. After sweeping the ground on which a fire has been for some time, they place the loaf there, and cover it with a pot, which they surround with fire. The last is the best of the three methods, and the most like that of eastern nations.

We continually met with a species of grass that is very troublesome. If the seeds are attached to the outside of our dress, they will work their way upwards to the skin, which produces much uneasiness. Our clothes required to be cleared of those seeds after every walk. We were now in constant danger of falling into pits dug by the wild Bushmen for catching beasts. They are five or six feet deep, at the bottom of which is generally stuck a poisonous stake, and the mouth is concealed by a slight covering of branches stewed over with grass, that the unsuspecting creature, treading upon it, may sink down and be taken.

I preached to our Hottentots, from 1 Thess i. 8–10, applying the words to the believers at Bethelsdorp, to which station our Hottentots belonged. I smiled at the remark of one of our Hottentots, (Boozak), after all was over. 'The truths from that passage,' said he, 'have made me as light as a feather.'

On reaching the summit of a long ascent, about two o'clock, we had a view of the wished for Great Orange River. The longing eyes of all were directed towards it, admiring its grand and majestic appearance, all expressing a strong desire to drink of its pure waters. Now that we beheld this tempting object, we grudged every minute that detained us from it. It might, already, in a certain sense, be called 'a river of life;' for even the sight gave fresh strength vigour, and admiration to every one of us. We found it further off than our wishes at first led us to conceive, for we did not reach its banks till three o'clock, when every one rushed towards it, and drank eagerly till satisfied. Neither the thickets with which its banks were covered, nor the steepness of its sides seemed any impediment to the cattle approaching it; they rushed heedlessly forward till their mouths reached it, when the motion of every raised tail of the cattle indicated real satisfaction and enjoyment. As we had eaten nothing since the preceding day, from anxiety and haste to reach the river, we had no sooner satisfied our thirst than we felt our hunger, and hastened to remove that also. The cattle had thousands of acres of high grass at hand, to which, on quenching their thirst, they instantly and eagerly ran.

Two Bushmen came to us in the morning, in consequence of hearing the report of our muskets. They engaged, for a little tobacco, to carry a letter to Mr. Anderson, our missionary friend at Klaar Water [to be renamed Griquatown], which proved to be two day's journey beyond the Great River, requesting that he and some of his friends would come to our assistance in crossing this formidable stream. After receiving the letter, the Bushmen continued waiting for some time, and we could not conjecture the reason why they did not set off immediately; nor could we inquire, as none of our interpreters were at hand: at length, supposing they expected the tobacco previous to performing the service, we presented each with a piece; on receiving it, they immediately proceeded on their journey.

We proceeded along the banks of the river in an easterly direction, among tall withered grass, in the following order: 1. Eight Bushmen riding on oxen. 2. Our baggage wagon and twelve oxen. 3. A Bushman on ox-back, and our guide on horseback. 4. My wagon and ten oxen. 5. Our flock of sheep and goats. 6. Our third wagon and ten oxen. 7. The chief and his son, on ox-back. 8. Our spare oxen. 9. Our armed Hottentots, walking scattered. The whole formed a curious caravan.

In the morning we visited Bern's¹⁵ kraal of Bushmen, standing on a barren spot, covered with gravel; but the scenery about the river in front of it was charming. Boozak, our Hottentot, sat in the middle of a group for about two

to the Rev Campbell in the general English jargon of the missionaries and others that the translator was accustomed to, or that the information the translator conveyed had thus been interpreted by the Rev Campbell.

¹⁵ Bern, the head of the "Bushman kraal", may have been the leader (petty chief) of a section of the Barendse Griqua. Khoë tribes / bands scattered and coalesced seasonally (and sometimes otherwise) for purposes of pasturage, special activities, and general subsistence. The close relationship between the alleged "two" tribes, at the time based on both sides of the river, may be an additional indicator of such a relationship: whilst staying with one section of the band, that section of the band would have formed an opinion of the missionary party. Notice that the (main) section of the band would assist with the missionary party's crossing of the river, etc., would have first been communicated and consulted with the section of the band with whom the missionary party had been staying for a few days, and not directly with the missionary party.

hours, telling them what he knew of the true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he had sent into the world to save sinners. The interest which a young man, who sat immediately beside him, seemed to take in what he said, I shall not soon forget. After it was over, this young man said, 'From what I have just heard, I feel as if I were a new man, as if I had entered into a new life. I wonder that God has preserved me from lions, tigers, and elephants, which I have encountered, that I might hear the things which I have been told to-day.' His eyes were constantly fixed on the lips of Boozak, and a most significant smile hung upon his countenance.

Bern, the chief of the kraal, informed us of a ford a few days' journey higher up the river, where we might cross without taking the wagons to pieces, and floating them over on rafts. On receiving this information, we instantly commenced preparation for moving; but why he concealed this information for four or five days I knew not, unless to secure our company in his neighbourhood. A little after sunset we at last began to move forward, to the great joy of our dogs, who expressed it in a very diverting manner. The poor creatures at the kraal felt very different from the dogs, for they expressed regret at our going away.

At nine next morning, the heat began to be oppressive; the swallows and butterflies were flying every where around, which rather surprised me in a month which answers to December in England. Pretorius, a Bushman belonging to our company, who had lived a considerable time at Bethelsdorp, on making a confession of his faith in Christ, was baptized in the Great Orange River, which was a solemn and affecting service, no doubt the 'first' time that ever such a service took place in the wild Bushman country.

Bern¹⁶, the Klaar Water chief, sent thirty oxen across to us from the other side, to assist us in getting forward; the stream carried them down with great speed while they were swimming across: all got safe over except one, which returned, and could not be forced to enter the river again. Two men followed the oxen on what are called wooden horses, which are composed of a thick branch of a tree, with a long pin stuck into it. On this they lie flat, suspending their clothes on a stick, and driving themselves forward by their feet, like a person swimming. A third person crossed on a real horse: for a considerable time nothing was seen above water but their heads.

My wagon was the first that entered the stream, having three mounted Griquas to prevent the oxen turning out of the right way, and thereby being carried down the stream. Four of our dogs were carried down the river, but got ashore somewhere below. By and by none were left behind but two dogs, which had been too timid to cross; they were howling and running backwards and forwards in great distress. They both, at length, ventured in, and were successful in reaching us, to their extreme delight. They leaped upon their masters as if in ecstasy, and, could they have spoken, they seemed as if they wished to say, 'We are truly glad to see you again: and are you not equally glad to see us safe over?' We received a hearty welcome to the country, from Bern, a Griqua chief, whose oxen had drawn our wagons for the last two days. We dined on guinea fowls, shot by our peoples. In the evening, our congregation was much increased by the Griquas. Mr. Anderson, from Klaar Water, arrived about ten o'clock at night, whom we were truly glad to see.

We took leave of Bern and his people, who were going to the other side of the river to hunt lions, and then quitted the Great River; but had not travelled above an hour, when Bern's horsemen overtook us, informing us that immediately on our leaving the river it began to rise, and soon became impassable; no doubt in consequence of great rains having fallen higher up the river. This intelligence made us admire the good providence of God, which brought us to the ford at the proper time; for, had we been four-and-twenty hours later, we might have been detained many days, till our provisions were entirely consumed. Some have been detained six weeks by the swelling of this river.

Halted a little while, to visit a Bushman's kraal, whom a Griqua captain (or chief) employed to watch his cattle, for which service he allowed them the milk of the cows; and though all the Bushmen are thieves, they are generally found to be faithful herdsmen. Their appearance was wretched, covered with dirt, and little clothing, yet they were cheerful. They had some fine naked children running about. At ten we arrived at the settlement [Klaar Water-Griquatown], and received a cordial welcome from the people.

¹⁶ Bern, the Klaar Water chief, as referenced here—and with reference to the before said—is reasonably inferred to have been the leader or chief of the Barendse Griqua.

In the morning, between two and three hundred people assembled in their meeting-house, for morning worship. Visited several families living at a little distance from the town. In a hut a black girl was grinding wheat. On a flat stone she laid a handful of grain, and with a round black stone she bruised about twenty grains at a time, by repeated strokes; when these were beaten to flour, she removed it to the side, and brought forward a few more grains to be bruised in the same way. I remarked, that a hungry man could eat faster than she could grind.

Some of the people had small gardens, producing pumpkins, beans, peas, Indian corn, cabbages, tobacco, etc. The garden of the missionaries was large, and very productive. The plum and peach trees were tall and thriving. Visited the smith's shop, in which several of the natives were at work.

After attending to a variety of concerns of the settlement, we bade the people farewell for a short time, and departed for the city of Lattakoo [Kuruman]¹⁷, of the population and civilization of which I had heard various reports. About five o'clock, as the sun was going down, while sitting in the front of my wagon, a Hottentot came running, to say that five lions were a little way before us, on the side of a low hill on our right, and wished to know if we should proceed. I asked what the lions were doing; he said they were playing. It struck me they had dined, or they would not be playful. After consulting, we thought we might proceed, only that the Hottentots should load all their muskets, and have them in readiness, in case we should be attacked by them. On approaching nearer, I could distinctly see them. They continued their rough play until we were exactly opposite to them, when the front wheel of my wagon came dash against a rock, which was concealed by the long grass among which we were travelling; the evening being still, the lions heard the sound, and turned immediately towards us. A very large male lion, with a frightful mien [mane], was the most conspicuous, and standing in the middle of them. We walked silently past without molestation.

A Bootchuana [Bechuana / Motswana] man came to us, complaining that he had a son detained by the white men in the colony; but we could give him no information concerning him. When leaving us, he called several times to his dog, 'Bussera men-tay,' which means 'affectionate wife!' Halted a little at this man's kraal; went into the chief's hut, and sat down upon the only stool in it. He went behind and brought out an empty snuff box, which he began to scrape, as if to find snuff: 'I understood him,' and gave him a supply from my box.

We halted at John Bloom's Fountain, named from a runaway from the colony, who became the head or chief of many Bushmen, Corannas [Koranas – a Khoe tribe], and Hottentots, who lived on the plunder of other kraals. Residing chiefly at this fountain, it was called by his name. Part of the ground near it is full of reeds, ten or twelve feet [3–3.65m] high, with many birds' nests hanging like bags from them. In the afternoon we halted at Blink Fountain, at the foot of Blink (or Shining) Hill [Blinkklipkop], so called on account of a shining ore found there, resembling the lead of which pencils are made. This the surrounding nations grind to powder, which they use in the same way as head powder is used in Europe. The red stone with which these nations paint their bodies comes also from this hill, and forms an article of trade amongst them. The hill is low, with a flat top, where there are several huge rocks, of a brown colour, curiously shaped. We ascended to these rocks, the inspection of which amply repaid the labour. Most of the stones lying about appear as if they had been in a state of fusion.

A Hottentot having lighted up a fire near an extensive field of tall reeds, the fire was communicated to the reeds, contrary to his intention, which spread over the whole plain, as far as the tall reeds extended, and produced one of the grandest objects I ever beheld; it resembled a city in flames: but, grand as it was, hardly any of our people turned round to observe it. There was however, a reason for this: they were hungry, and were either eating, or expecting soon to eat, with which nothing must interfere; yet they often fast long without uttering a complaint. Three things, exclusive of religion, comprehend all that engages the attention of South Africans—money, food, and tobacco: the wonders of God's creating power around and above them are viewed with insensibility. Two or three of our people, having noticed my attachment to flowers, brought me a curious flower, the first of the kind we had met with; but they brought it without interest.

¹⁷ Along the missionary party's journey—here relayed from Graaff Reinet onward—the principal native peoples they encountered were KhoiSan, but as they approached Lattakoo [Kuruman] the peopling became more complex and integrated, and included KhoiSan and Bantu. The Lattakoo region was settled by baTswana, a Bantu people; and beyond Lattakoo the Bantu was the dominant people. Lattakoo was, hence, commonly known as the baTswana village (or town / city) of the frontier.

Blink Mountain is a kind of Mecca to the nations around, who are constantly making pilgrimages to it, to obtain fresh supplies of the blue shining powder and the red stone. We went with a lighted candle to explore the hair-powder mine. On descending from the mouth, with some difficulty, we went towards the interior of the mountains, sometimes walking half way up the leg in black-lead dust. The arched roof was full of projecting pieces of the shining ore, and large caverns appeared on each side, as we advanced. The ceiling, or roof, at one place, part of which we could reach, appeared as if carved by the art of man. On touching this supposed carved work, we found it had life, and on examination, perceived it to be composed of a multitude of bats, hanging asleep from the projecting rocks on the sides of the cave. Moving them backwards and forwards, neither awoke nor made any of them lose their hold of the rock on which they had fastened their claws; but holding the candle at a little distance under one of them, as in the cave in Sneuberg [Sneeuberg mountain], awoke it, when it flew to another part of the cave. We penetrated into the mountain about a hundred feet [30.5m], when it became so low and narrow that we could proceed no farther in that direction. We examined a passage leading to the right, which descended deeper, till we entered a large cavern, the floor of which was strewn with the bones of animals, and some parts indicated fires having been made in it; perhaps by people taking refuge from enemies, for it had too gloomy and terrific an appearance to be chosen as a residence, even by wild Bushmen.

We entered the Matchapsee country¹⁸. A wolf, which entered into the midst of our sheep, was shot. Halted near the Krooman [Kuruman] Fountain, from whence the river of that name proceeds: it is the most abundant spring I ever noticed. About a yard [0.91m] from the rock out of which it comes, we found the river to measure three yards [2.74m] in breadth, and from fourteen to eighteen inches [30–45cm] deep. On going a few yards inside the rock, we found a small cave, from whence went four passages in different directions, from all of which streams of water flowed. Within, the water was almost lukewarm; but outside, it was cold.

When almost dark, the oxen took fright, dragging the wagons at full speed in different directions. At seven, the same scene was repeated; which was alarming while it continued, lest the wagons should be dashed against each other, or be overturned. We heard no lions roar, which is the general cause of such an occurrence.

Two Matchapsee men joined us, who had been hunting. One, in a lively manner, asked many questions about our Griquas. When anything said pleased him much, he repeated the principal word in the sentence five or six times, with a loud voice; which I understood was designed to show that he was attending to what was spoken, and was likewise pleased with the information. They soon left us, unobserved. This being the shortest day in the year, we observed the sun set about a quarter to five o'clock. Our days resembled fine summer days in England, and our nights those of winter, for cold.

After crossing the river, we immediately began to ascend rising ground; many footpaths became visible, all running in one direction, which indicated our approach to the city. On reaching the summit of the hill, Lattakoo came all at once into view, lying in a valley bounded by hills on each side, stretching about three or four miles [4.82–6.43km] from east to west. On descending the hill to this African city, we were rather surprised that not one person was to be seen in any direction, except two or three boys. Though come within a hundred yards [~100m] of the houses, still no inhabitant appeared. When my wagon got to the entrance of the principal street, or wide lane, one man appeared, and made signs for us to follow him. Proceeding amidst the houses, every thing remained as still as if it had been 'a town to let;' this continued to be the case till we came opposite to the king's house, when we entered by a gate into a large square enclosure, in which were a multitude of people assembled, all maintaining perfect silence; three rows of tall men, armed with spears, were arranged in military order on the right hand side as I entered. In a few minutes, men, women, and children rushed in by from the gate, from all quarters. On my leaping from the wagon into the midst of the spearmen, I heard a universal shout, but could not conjecture the reason. The noise and uproar continued, from multitudes of tongues bawling with all their might; it was somewhat confounding to persons who had so long been accustomed to the stillness of the wilderness. Our party was soon separated, and lost sight of each other in the crowd of taller men than we were. At first the women and children fled, if we but looked at them; but they gradually

¹⁸ In earlier times, tribes were often not called by the tribal names used today; they were frequently simply named after the chief / a significant former chief of the tribe, hence, the *Matchapsees* and the *Wanketzens*, etc. The tribes thus referred to in this section were all Tswana tribes.

became bolder. The crowd so increased, that we could hardly find out each other, and wondered when we should be permitted to take some refreshment. We got our wagons drawn up in the front of the square, and our tent placed in the centre. We were introduced to Munaneets, the uncle of the present king, and to Salakootoo, the brother of the late king Malayabang, who stood in the middle of the spearmen.

On entering our tent, a crowd of the chief men followed us, and filled the tent to the outside; and the square, formed by our wagons, was like a bee-hive, in which the confused noise rendered conversation almost impossible. On some meat being put on the table, we were agreeably surprised to find the crowd immediately retire. Whether this was proceeded from a sense of decorum, or in consequence of orders from Munaneets, the uncle and deputy of the king, I could not learn.

About seven years before, Lord Caledon, when governor of the Cape, sent a party to explore the interior of Africa as far as the Portuguese settlement at Mozambique, consisting of Dr. Cowan, Lieutenant Donovan, twenty soldiers of the Cape regiment, a boor, and a Griqua from Griqua Town. From the time of their leaving Lattakoo, they had never been heard of by the government. The whole party having been said to have been murdered by the Wanketzens, the next nation, or tribe, beyond Lattakoo, we understood that the people suspected that we were coming to revenge that murder, which caused the strange silence we noticed in the city when we entered it.

Although king Mateebe [Mathibi]¹⁹ was from home, upon a jackal hunt, yet, in consequence of the above information, we judged it proper to invite the chief men to a conference with us that evening, to remove these suspicions, by informing them of the real object of our visit. In consequence of this invitation, nine of the principal men came to our tent a little after sunset, and sat down upon the ground: their countenances indicated the possession of good natural parts. By means of interpreters, I informed them that I had come from a remote country, far beyond the sun, where the true God who made all things was known; that the people of that country had long ago sent some of their brethren to Klaar Water, and other parts of Africa, to tell them many things that they did not know, in order to do them good, and to make them better and happier people; that, having heard since I came into those parts to see how our friends were going on, that the Matchappees were a people friendly to strangers, I had come to Lattakoo to inquire if they were willing to receive teachers; that, if willing, then teachers should be sent among them. They replied, that they could give no answer to what I had said till Mateebe should arrive from his hunt, and promised to dispatch a messenger to him early in the morning.

After the conversation, Salakootoo remarked, that he had not tasted any of my tobacco yet. He got some. One of the queens brought some milk, for which she, and those who came with her, received a little tobacco. She asked Mr. Read for some snuff, who said he did not take snuff; to which she replied, he would have the more to give away on that account; supposing we all had a stock of it. Some of the natives attended worship in the morning. One of them being asked afterwards if he knew what we had been about, said, 'We prayed;' but he did not know to whom. When told it was to the Great Being; he said, 'They believed there was a Great being, but they did not know him, for they had never seen him.'

While writing in the tent, some of the principal people came and sat round me, talking about writing, dress, etc. so that I was obliged to desist. To make something of time, and assist them to believe that a book could speak, I took down their names, which were Lahalla, Humay, Jabeleeck, Shoomuliky, Muteer, Shoomiliky, Palamma, Murakoomaille, Mootabuche, Mouqua, Mohalaily, Chinkanny, and Sheecolee. Keeping my eye upon the book, I read aloud their names as they sat, which greatly astonished them; but how it was effected they could not conceive.

Our attention was next drawn to a procession of women holding long rods, and their faces disfigured by strokes of white paint in various forms. They marched at a slow pace, closely crowded together, bawling exceedingly loud. A number of matrons preceded them, dancing and screaming. On reaching the entrance, a feigned battle commenced, between the aged and the young women, which the latter were allowed to gain, which they entered in triumph. The people then formed a large circle, six or eight persons deep, when upwards of forty girls entered the circle, from twelve to sixteen years of age, whitened with chalk and pipe-clay. They danced in a kind of measured

¹⁹ Mathibi Molehabangwe (unknown).

irregularity, striking the ground most violently with their feet. Many of them had small shields in their hands, which they moved dexterously, as if warding off arrows shot against them. Their eyes were fixed on the ground, retaining the greatest gravity of countenance. After dancing a quarter of an hour, as if by signal, all fled behind a hedge, but soon returned and resumed their dance. The dancing and retiring continued an hour and a half.

A Matchappee being told that cows, oxen, sheep, etc. were made for certain purposes, such as to feed and clothe man, was asked for what purpose he thought man was made. He answered, 'To go on plundering expeditions against other people.' According to this doctrine, the chief end of man would be to fight with and steal from one another!

During the evening our wagons were surrounded by a multitude of noisy persons. In the midst of all this hubbub, we had an interesting conversation with Munaneets and Kotcha, a principal man. We asked Munaneets if he would like instruction; he referred the question to Kotcha for an answer, who said, 'I do not like to tell my thoughts on it at present;' perhaps meaning till the arrival of the king. 'Well, I will tell my mind,' said Munaneets; 'I should like it: when I hear these people sing, it pleases me like a dance, and I could wish to be able to do it too. Ever since the teachers came to Klaar Water, we have had peace; they have been like a shield to us; we have had less trouble. I am grieved that this custom,' (meaning the dancing which again took place in the afternoon,) 'has happened at the time you came here; but I cannot prevent it, it is the king's orders, and it will last every day till next full moon.'

Walking to a neighbouring hill to enjoy a little quiet, several boys and girls walked part of the way with me, for their own diversion, asking me little questions in sport, repeating frequently the same thing, with a laugh each time. I was grieved I could not understand a single word; but this very circumstance afforded them much entertainment. From the loudness with which they sometimes spoke to me, it is not improbable that they might imagine my not answering their questions arose from deafness.

Munaneets came to us one evening, bringing our interpreter with him, when we had much conversation with him. We inquired of them their reason for circumcising their young people, for these dances were in reference to the annual circumcision. He said it came to them from father to son. 'Do you not know why your forefathers did it?' They shook their heads, saying, 'No.' We told them that our book told how it began in the world, and related the circumstances in reference to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The information was interesting to them; and they endeavoured to fix the names we had mentioned upon their memories, by repeating them alternately over and over again.

Mr. Campbell was right in thus referring them to 'our book;' for there is no trace of Mohammedism in that quarter.

Munaneets said, 'I have heard more this evening than in all my life before; we must shut our mouths, and only hear;' looking at his companion while he spoke. 'I acknowledge the things you have to tell us are good, from the change they have made on the Griquas and Corannas, at Klaar Water. Sometimes, when we have no rain, food is very scarce; wherefore I fear that those whom you shall send will not be satisfied, and will leave us.'

He then told us that all white persons that had gone beyond Lattakoo had been murdered. 'When we told them their danger,' added he, 'they would not believe us; they thought it was our covetousness, that we wished to have all their beads.'

Made inquiry respecting the fate of Dr. Cowen and his party, telling them that I came from the same country. They said that Dr. Cowen and his people were murdered near the town of Melita, about five days' journey to the north-east, in the country of the Wanketzens, whose chief's name is Makkabba. Some present, especially our Bootchuana interpreter, of whose honesty we all had a good opinion, asserted, that when on commando, along with the Wanketzens, they had seen Dr. Cowen's tent, sheep, spoons, and clothes. We inquired respecting the colour of the clothes; they said white and red. They said they were glad we had not spoken on that subject publicly, as many of these Wanketzens were now in Lattakoo. After some further conversation, they told us that some of the clothes were in that district of Lattakoo which we visited on Saturday. We did not deem it prudent, however, to ask for a sight of them unless they should themselves offer it.

I happened to show a person himself in a looking-glass on the lid of the shaving-box, which caused more employment than I wanted; for immediately he brought his wife and other friends to see themselves. All were afraid at the first sight of themselves in it, and started back, then looked behind the glass to see if it was no deception. The crowd increased, and the press to get forward was so great, that the tent was often in danger of being overturned.

In the evening, Mahootoo [Mahuto], the queen, and Seetezoo, the king's sister, visited us in the tent. We endeavoured to explain to the queen the nature of a letter, by means of which a person could convey his thoughts to a friend at a distance. Mr. Anderson showed her one he had received from his wife at Klaar Water, by which he knew every thing that had happened there since he left it. She was greatly amused by the information, especially when told that A. Kok [Adam Kok], who brought it, knew nothing of what it contained, which we explained by telling her the use of sealing-wax, which locked up its mouth till it came to him. The Bible being on the table gave occasion to explain the nature and use of a book, particularly of that book; how it informed us of God, who made us and all things, and of the beginning of all things, which seemed to astonish her; and many a look was directed towards the Bible.

Mahootoo asked the following questions, evidently as things she had formerly thought of. 'Will people who are dead rise up again? Is God under the earth, or where is he?'

When the conversation was ended, we showed them a watch, which both astonished and terrified them. Their hearing sound and seeing motion in it seemed evidences of life; hence they concluded that it must be 'alive;' on offering to put it on their ears that they might more distinctly hear its sound, with both hands they drove it away, as if it had been a serpent.

There was a great uproar in the square this morning, the cause of which I found to be, that two buttons had been stolen from the trowsers [trousers] of our interpreter, and they were charging one another with the theft; but had the great seal of England been stolen, there could not have been a more serious affray. The thief being discovered, who was a good-looking young man, the interpreter drove him out of the square, in the presence of numerous spectators, who all seemed to approve of the punishment. It is true the two buttons, in England, might only be worth a penny; but ten thousand miles [16,093km, as a means of saying the great distance (9,848km) between England and South Africa] from it, and a thousand miles [1,609km, ditto] from a sea-port, their value was greatly increased. He could not have purchased two other buttons without a journey of twelve hundred miles [1,931km, ditto], namely, to and from Graaf Reynet.

The women here are the farming labourers. Even the queen digs the ground along with other females. They use a kind of pick-axe. They sing in chorus, when they make a stroke at every note, so that the labour is thus equally divided. When the queen feels tired, she ceases, lies down and sleeps, and so do all who are working with her.

From the best calculation we could make, there seems to be about 1,500 houses in the town; allowing five persons to each house, there must be 7,500 inhabitants. They have also a great many out-posts, where families reside who superintend their cattle. We had a visit from Leapa, the king's mother, widow of Malayabang, the late king. A clever girl, whose name was Sehoiya, frequently came to our wagons, who sometimes tried to teach me some of their words, evidently for her own diversion. This day she introduced three of her companions, whose names she said were Heylobally, Kaadje, and Mama. They all became teachers, and no doubt considered me a dull scholar, for I seldom pronounced a word to please them; but this was partly their own fault, for no sooner had one uttered half a word, than the other three caught it, and called it out as loud as if they had supposed me to be as deaf as a rock. Children in Lattakoo, as well as in London, like better to teach than to learn.

When sitting in the front of my wagon, some of the first ladies of the city came, offering their arm-rings and ear-rings for tobacco; and children of eight or nine years made the most significant imitations that they wanted snuff. In the evening, many people returned, who had fled on hearing of our approach, from dread that we had come to revenge the death of Dr. Cowan.

When at dinner, Munaneets, the governor, Mateere, the lieutenant-governor, with two others, visited us. Mateere observing us taking a little cayenne pepper now and then, when the redness of it attracting his attention, he asked for a little on a piece of meat which we gave him. On feeling its pungency, he shut his eyes, hastily put his hands

on his mouth, and held down his head. He concealed his pain, and slyly touched Mr. Read with his foot, to intimate that he should say nothing, but give the same dose to the others. Munaneets partook next, and, when he could speak, he asked for a little for his wife: the others also tasted it.

Two parties, as forerunners of King Mateebe, arrived in the morning, and at noon he arrived himself, with many attendants carrying spears, and poles dressed with black ostrich feathers, which are stuck into the ground around places where they halt, to frighten away lions, who, it seems, are not fond of their appearance. On coming into the square, he took no notice of us or our wagons, but acted as if ignorant that strangers were there. He and his chiefs then sat down in a circle, when Mateere related every thing to him that had taken place during his absence. He then related to them the circumstances attending his own excursion, both of which speeches did not occupy ten minutes; after which, in consequence of orders, we walked up to him, when, without looking towards us, he stretched out his right hand, with the knuckles towards us, which we shook the best way we could. During all this there was not the slightest alteration in his countenance.

In the evening, Mateebe, attended by his brother and some of his chiefs, approached our tent. On entering, he sat down and remained in silence, first to receive our present, and then to hear what we had to say. I made him a present of various articles furnished to me by the ladies of Kingsland. When taking out the different articles, I observed him looking towards the parcel, to discover what was coming next. During the whole proceeding, he sat speechless and motionless, but when he saw no more presents were coming, he condescended to open his mouth, and said, 'You would have been perfectly safe, though you had not had Adam Kok and his friends with you, or though I had received no presents. As soon as I was informed by Munaneets of your arrival, I came to you.' He then desired Adam Kok to consider himself as much at home in Lattakoo as at Klaar Water. On which Adam Kok thanked him, and told him that Mr. A [Anderson] and Mr. R [Read] had presents of tobacco for him. He said, 'Do not give me the tobacco now, or these people' (pointing to those outside the wagons) 'will ask it all away from me.'

I then told him from whence I had come, and the object of my visit to Lattakoo. That it was to offer to send teachers to him and his people, which I had heard they desired to have; and I came to have his permission to send them, and the promise of his protection after they had come. He objected to their coming, for his people had no time to receive their instructions, because they had to attend to their cattle, to sowing, reaping, and many other things; besides, the things which these people teach are contrary to all their customs, which the people will not give up. It would not do for them to live at Lattakoo; but, should they be willing to live at a distance, he would have no objection to send some of the children to them, to learn the Dutch language.

I stated to him that the teachers we should send would convey information of the true God, who made the heavens, the earth, and all creatures and things in them; of his love to the world; of the laws he had given respecting good and evil; and, pointing to the Bible which lay on the tent table, I assured him that the book contained every thing missionaries had to make known to him and his people; and that, when missionaries should have learned his language, they would change all its contents into his language. He seemed, by a significant shake of his head, to intimate, that he considered what I said an impossibility. To convince him that things would be written in his language, we read to him the names of his predecessors and all his family. For the first time he smiled, on hearing their names read over, and seemed full of astonishment and pleasure. We then assured him that instruction would not interfere with industry; that the inhabitants of my country were industrious, as he might be well convinced of, by our clothes, wagons, and so forth, which they made; that his people would not be compelled to receive instruction, for only those who were willing would be instructed, and they would not interfere with the government. After answering some other objections, the king said, as his answer, 'Send instructors, and I will be a father to them.'

This formal and successful meeting with the king, was held upon the first Monday evening of the month of July, appointed by himself; at the same time that the monthly prayer meetings were held over all the Christian parts of the world, for the success of missions to the heathen world. The time of meeting was not selected by us, but by a heathen king, who knew nothing of what Christians were about. We had our prayer and thanksgiving meeting in the public square, after business was over. Next day I walked over to the king's, and made a present of a pair of ear-rings to each of the queens. The royal family were at dinner, in the corner of the yard, outside the house. The king's

distinction seemed to consist in his sitting next the pot that contained the boiled beans, on which they were dining, and having the only spoon we saw, with which he helped himself and his friends, by putting a portion into each hand as it was held out to him. One of the princesses was employed in cutting, with an axe, a dried paunch into small pieces, and putting them into a pot to be boiled, either to complete their repast, or to serve for another soon after. One of Mateebe's sisters was cutting up a filthy-looking piece of flesh, and putting it into the same pot. Certainly an Englishman would be almost dying for want of food, before he would accept an invitation to dine with the king of Lattakoo.

At noon we had a public formal meeting with the king, and a number of his chiefs, in the open square. The king was seated on one of our stools, and we on each side of him, our two interpreters on the ground before us, and the chiefs and people in half circles beyond them. We began by stating the truths our missions would teach. Mateebe repeated how little time the people had to learn. We told him we had daily observed many men, women, and children doing nothing, and that a missionary would have plenty of work to teach such. He expressed surprise, that if all men came from one father and mother, they so differed from one another. We observed that, in one family, the dispositions of children often differed. He said the missionaries would be safe, for when two of his people murdered John Kok²⁰, he brought them to his wife to shoot them, and when she would not, he did it. We told him that in that case he acted according to the directions in our book, which says, 'He that sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' He said, that whenever missionaries have got enough, they shall be at liberty to depart; having no idea that they can have any other motive for coming, but again. He then said, 'I believe there is a God who made all things, who gives prosperity, sickness and death; but I do not know him.' The knowledge he has, undoubtedly came from the mission station at Klaar Water. About a hundred persons were present, and the conversation lasted about two hours. In the afternoon, a person stated, as an objection to missionaries coming, that, when praying, they would not see when the enemy was coming. I advised that one person should be standing and looking about, while the others were at prayer, and, in that case, two eyes were as good as twenty. Another person said, they never could be able to sing.

After our meeting with Mateebe, one of our people heard him say, 'These men have been born before us; they know more than us; they make us dumb.'

Mateebe, Munaneets, and Mateere, the three principal men in Lattakoo, attended our worship in the evening.

I observed that the children, in general, were cheerful and playful, but their diversions do not appear to be numerous.

It is truly distressing to see such numbers of fine clever boys and girls carelessly running about, without having any one to care for their souls, or to teach them any thing that can be of the smallest service to them in after life. Their parents being themselves as ignorant of God, of his law, of the Saviour, of a judgement to come, of heaven or hell, as the wild ass of the wilderness, they can give them no parental instruction, nor can a school of any description exist. Though surrounded by many of the wonderful works of God, as mountains, rivers, trees, flowers, birds, beasts, insects, etc., they derive no instruction from them any more than the brutes. They never think of the wisdom that contrived them, nor of the power that produced them: 'the heavenly bodies also in vain declare the glory of God, though their line be gone out through all the earth, and their words to the end of the world.'

Lattakoo is wonderfully altered now. Mr. Moffat²¹ and his colleagues have both seen and done great things there. When he left, the church had 200 members; but his greatest achievement is the reduction of the Bechuana tongue [Setswana] to a written language, into which he has already translated the New Testament and the Psalms. To publish these, he came to this country. To master the language, he wandered the deserts with the savage tribes, sharing their perils and privations. He outdid Paul in accommodating himself to all men, in order to save some. Paul

²⁰ The murder of John Kok, Adam Kok's father, as raised by the chief / king Mathibi (Mateebe) is of importance, also with regard to missionary historical and cultural researches underlying the Imperialist and neo-Imperialist paradigms. John Kok is, for example, seldom if ever mentioned in general Griqua genealogy and history.

²¹ Robert Moffat (1795–1883).

never became a savage in lot, to save savages. Many might, indeed, thus stoop to conquer; but how few could retain both their piety and philosophy in such society!

We began, early in the morning of July the 7th, to prepare for leaving Lattakoo. Mateebe made us a present of two oxen, which he said was the custom of his father, Mallayabang, when visited by strangers. He asked for a neck-cloth; we presented him with two—one he immediately put around his neck, and the other over his head as a night-cap, which completely distinguished him from all his subjects, but they were soon nearly red, from the paint with which his body was covered [...].

We arrived at Griqua Town on the morning of the 26th of July; so that our journey to Lattakoo, from thence, had occupied six weeks.

At this time, he [the Rev Campbell] reviewed his journey, in a letter to his aunt.

It is a remarkable fact, that insanity is a disease almost unknown in South Africa. Can this be ascribed to the climate, or to their exemption from the cares of life? For an African can sleep as soon and as sound when he has not a morsel to eat as when he has plenty. They calculate no time, consequently have no care respecting old age, till it comes, and they feel it. We might go to them, as well as to the fowls of the air, to guard against carking worldly cares and anxieties. (See Matt. vi 25, 26.)

A messenger announced that a camelopard (giraffe) had just been shot, and they wished me to see it before it died; of course, I hastened to the spot, but it had fallen down and expired before I reached it. The length of its fore-legs measured about six feet [1.82m], so that a good-sized horse could have walked under its belly; from the hoof to the top of the head it measured fifteen feet [4.57m]. The animal is now in the Missionary Museum.

At midnight, a messenger arrived, informing us that a party of Caffres and Bushmen were coming to attack the settlement. The bell was rung, and the inhabitants immediately collected, to consider what was best to be done. They argued first to dispatch some persons to gain intelligence, and the whole proved a false alarm.

Had a meeting with the male population, to consider various points, especially regulations for the protection of the lives and property of the community. I endeavoured to explain to them the necessity and design of laws for the government of every society; that if there was no law against murder, and no punishment annexed to the commission of it, then every man's life was in danger of being taken from him, even on the most frivolous occasions; if no law against theft, then the property of the industrious was at the merci if the idle; and in case they should become a much more numerous people, which was not improbable, should they remain without laws, all would be anarchy and confusion. I told them that, in the history of the world, there was no account of any people existing and prospering without laws. I commended them for relinquishing a wandering life, and for having become a stationary people; and said that I was happy that they were, from experience, convinced of its utility.

The chiefs and people unanimously consented that laws should be made, and magistrates chosen to put them in execution; and that a meeting should be held in the afternoon to consider what laws should be adopted.

It was agreed that their two captains, or chiefs, should continue to act as commanders, in things respecting the public safety against foreign attacks. The whole people likewise resolved, that henceforth they should be called Griquas, instead of Bastard Hottentots; and that the place should be called Griqua Town, instead of Klaar Water.

I had drawn up fourteen laws, which were proposed and agreed to; likewise that nine magistrates should be chosen to act as judges at Griqua Town, and one at each of the principal out-posts, or large villages, who are to judge in smaller cases.

It was agreed that the two captains, or chiefs, Bern and Kok, with Messrs. Anderson and Janz, be a court of appeal, and that the limits of their country be marked out in the course of one month, and the magistrates chosen.

Many of the people have gardens: tobacco holds a distinguished place in them. It evidently is the favourite plant. Many acres of land in different parts of the country, especially around Griqua Town, are cultivated. They abound in horned cattle, sheep, and goats; and these, with other outward comforts, the people acknowledge, have considerably increased since they became a stationary people. For the first five years after the missionaries came among them, they wandered about like the wild Bushmen, from place to place, notwithstanding the constant urgent entreaties of the missionaries that they would adopt a settled residence. Many of the old, as well as the young, can read: they dress like Europeans.

From the best calculation that could be made of the number of Griquas and Corannas, who consider themselves in union with the Griquas, and who statedly or occasionally attend instruction by the missionaries, is 2,607.

Then the church at Griqua Town had only 42 members, now 630; then 110 children were at school, now nearly 1,000. Almost the entire population of the district attend Sunday-schools. Besides the three missionaries, there are six regular, and 16 occasional native teachers. In 1840, 96 members were added to the churches of this mission.

The next missionary station to be visited was in Namacqualand [Namaqualand], which lies on the western coast of Africa, near the mouth of the Great River, which is the opposite side of the continent from the Griqua country, from whence we were to set out [...].

Chapter XV – His Second Visit to Africa [~1818–1820 (<https://dacb.org/stories/southafrica/campbell-john2/>)]

"It is unnecessary to be very minute or explicit in completing Mr. Campbell's account of the state of the African missions in 1820, by the Report of 1841, because Mr. Moffat, who was his companion then, is now in this country, and pledged to imitate Mr. Williams, (which he well can do,) by giving to the public a history of his own labours and success. In that work, he will do more justice to Mr. Campbell's mission than any one else can do.

In the mean time, it is only fair to record Mr. Campbell's estimate of Mr. Moffat, when he studied him at Cape Town. It stands thus in his note book: 'His education does not qualify him to preach at Cape Town; but I believe him to be a first-rate missionary for the heathen. He is also acquainted with agriculture, carpenter's work, the sextant, map-making, etc. etc. Taking this whole case into consideration, it appeared to Dr. Philip and myself desirable and proper to take him with us, as worship is kept up at his station by a son of Africander [Jager Africander / Afrikaner], whom he reports to be a singularly proud man. On mentioning our wish to him, he readily consented, and we are well satisfied that he will be a great acquisition to us; for he has a noble missionary spirit, and has endured hardships with contentment.' Those who have read Mr. Campbell's travels, know that he was not disappointed in his man; and those who believe that he was not, who have heard Mr. Moffat's narrative."

APPENDIX 2

Campbell (1835: 171–186) – A Journey to Lattakoo in South Africa.

“Chapter XL – Journey from Lattakoo to Griqua Town [Second Visit to South Africa, ~1818–1820]

The day of my final departure being come, I gave a farewell address to the people in the morning. I made a present to Mahootoo [Mahuto], the queen, of a large wax doll, well dressed in the European fashion, which was sent from a friend at Kingsland, on purpose for her. This trifle excited great astonishment; she held it up before her, earnestly looking at it for several minutes, without one remark. Her married daughter touched it very gently now and then, laughing immoderately.

After taking leave of many persons, our wagons began to move through the crowd. Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton accompanied us two days' journey, to a place where they intended to cut timber. Our old friend [Jager] Africaner, on his return to Namaqualand, was one of our travelling party. At six, we halted at the Krooman [Kuruman] fountain, where we found three Bushmen [San] families, who seemed to possess nothing but their miserable huts. Next evening we halted at little Koning (or King) fountain, where Mr. H. (Hamilton) intended to cut a supply of timber. In the morning we found the scenery along a valley very beautiful, especially considering it was about the middle of their winter; the rise to the right was covered with various kinds of timber; several small hills were also decked with wood; while rocks resembling monumental pillars, interspersed over the scenery, added much to the beauty of the view. Great part of the valley was covered with reeds, from eight to twelve feet [2.43–3.65m] high; and a fine lake of water, from which there always flows a pure stream, was on the east side of the reeds.

While contemplating these beauties, a Hottentot [Khoer] came running with tidings that the Bushmen had stolen three of our oxen, and one belonging to a Hottentot, during the night, which had just been discovered. We immediately returned, and despatched a party in pursuit. From the footmarks of the oxen, it appeared they had first driven off a great number, out of which they had selected four, judging it more probable they should succeed in carrying a few off, than many. We saw a Bushman's fire at a distance; a signal to other Bushmen that a robbery had been committed, and that they ought to get out of the way.

The cattle were not recovered; two were found slaughtered, and two carried over the hills; but they brought two of the thieves prisoners to the wagons—a man, and a lad about fifteen years of age. The Matchappees [baTswana tribesmen], who were with us, could scarcely be restrained from despatching them directly with their spears. The man appeared to be in great agitation, and crouched under the cloak of a Hottentot for protection from them. The guilt of the poor Bushman being established, the feelings of our party would not allow us to dismiss him without some punishment. The poor fellow, when brought forward to receive it, evidently expected nothing less than death, for when they were laying him down on the ground, he gave a most dreadful yell; but on the first application of the whip to his back, his countenance immediately changed, and he seemed to receive the beating thankfully. Though the Hottentot applied the sambok with considerable severity, while four held him down, his voice never was heard. The boy sat eating, without once looking about, while his companion was undergoing this punishment. He was pardoned; and the business was scarcely over, when both the Bushmen expressed a wish to be taken into our service, that they might have food and clothes. We took the boy to get him instructed and provided for among the Grikwas, but the man we left to return to his family²².

We departed at eleven A.M., after taking leave of Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton, and travelled till six in the evening, when we halted at a fountain of good water. In the morning, we passed a remarkable excavation in the middle of a plain; the circumference of the mouth might be about a quarter mile [400m], and perpendicular rock all around, and about hundred feet [30.48m] high from the bottom, excepting a declivity on one part of it, which we easily descended to the bottom, where is a deep pool of excellent water. Almost on a level of the surface of the water is a cave, which is

²² “By a letter from Lattakoo, I learned that he was afterwards killed by a Matchappee commando, for joining in a robbery of cattle from them” (Campbell 1835, footnote in text).

used by the Bushmen as a hiding place from their pursuers, when they have stolen cattle, because they can feast there in safety; for the Matchappees have never had the courage to follow them into that dark abode.

Came in the morning to Jan Kars' kraal, the most northern, or highest up residence of any of the Griqua nation, which is contiguous to a copious stream. Assisted by the Bushmen, Jan Kars, a Griqua, has, with great labour, cut a canal from near a source of the stream, by which he can lead a supply of water over all his cornfields. He possesses a new wagon, which he bought in the colony, at the last Beaufort fair, for seven hundred rix-dollars. His circumstances are proofs of the civilizing tendency of the gospel, and of the usefulness of the labours of missionaries. Many Bushmen live near him, whom he supports, each family being allowed a certain quantity of corn every evening. Some distant Bushmen lately stole twelve of his oxen. All the people are collected by him every evening to a meeting for prayer. I addressed them on the injury which ignorance of God does to the soul, from Prov. xviii. 2. At a meeting with the Bushmen, when I asked their captain what was his name, they consulted together three or four times; the captain appeared to be requesting his wife to help his recollection; at length, when my patience was almost exhausted, she said his name was Houkay, or 'Little Lamb,' son of Houkaying, or 'Very Little Lamb.' He confessed he had killed five men, either in revenge or when fighting about game; but Kars, and Berend [Barend Barendse?], the Griqua captain, remarked that he had killed many more than five persons, but they saw he suspected my reason for asking such questions.

We found the uncle of the boy who stole our oxen, and wished him to take the boy under his care; but, with great indifference, he said he did not know whether the boy's father was dead or alive, though his own brother; nor did he make any inquiry of the boy about it, so destitute was he of natural affection. His brother was dead. The boy preferring to remain here rather than go to Griqua Town [Griquatown] for instruction, we left him, after giving him a few presents.

Next we moved to Berend's kraal, which was only about two miles [3.21km] distant. A considerable number assembled to worship, in and before the tent. It was a motley meeting, being composed of Griquas, Namaquas, Damaras, Bootchuanas [baTswanas], Bushmen, English, and Scotch. No congregation could have sat more still, though the wind was cold, accompanied with darkness, thunder, lightning, and some rain. There was one circumstance in this meeting of a very affecting nature. I saw before me, at this moment, worshipping under the same tent, and receiving the glad tidings of the gospel with much feeling, the once noted marauder Africaner, and Berend, the Griqua chief, who, till their conversation, had been mortal enemies to each other. About twenty-four years before this time, they, at the head of their respective adherents, fought for five days against each other on the banks of the Great Orange river. When Africaner was converted, he sent a message to the Griqua chiefs, confessing his sorrow for the injury he had done them; and soliciting them, at the same time, to unite with him in promoting universal peace over the country, and the improvement of the people. Could any thing but the gospel of God have produced such a moral change upon such men? The subject of address was, 'The invitations of God to the ends of the earth, to look to Him, and to Him alone for salvation.' Berend then engaged in prayer, with Africaner kneeling by his side at the same stool.

A great disaster happened a few days before our arrival. When only about one half of Berend's fields were ploughed, the ploughshare broke; an irreparable loss, for at least ten or twelve months. Perhaps many poor Bushmen might perish in consequence, for want of the supplies Berend was accustomed to afford them.

Two young men here were afflicted with leprosy; and their fingers and toes were gradually falling off. A boor [Dutch / Boer] in the colony assured Berend that he cured himself of leprosy, by rubbing his body with the fat of the sea-horse, (hippopotamus.) The lepers at Mauritius are cured by being transported to the island Diego Gaseia, and there employed in cocoa-nut oil-works; it would therefore seem that oil is a specific in this horrid disease.

Here Africaner left us for Namaqualand, which lay to the westward, while our way lay nearly south. The separation was affecting. Immediately after a very solemn meeting for prayer, we commended each other to the care of a gracious God. I kept my eye on Africaner, walking at the side of his wagon, till he came to a projecting part of a hill, round which he turned, and I could see him no more. In a short time after his return home, he died with great Christian fortitude, and I have no doubt that he entered into the joy of his Lord, on whose sacrifice for sin he alone built his hope on eternal life. We arrived at Griqua Town on the morning of August the 3rd.

We left Berend's kraal at three P.M., accompanied by him and Kars, in their wagons, and arrived at Griqua Town on the morning of the second day.

Chapter XLI – Second Residence in Griqua Town

I visited the school, and found a great many young people, in little companies, standing around printed sheets suspended on the walls, and teaching one another, according to the British system; while the master, a native Griqua, was employed in hearing some senior Griqua girls read the New Testament.

On the evening of the 6th, the landdrost of Graaf Reynet [Graaff Reinet], Mr. Faure, minister of that place, with Dr. Finan, and a few farmers, arrived. The next day, Mr. Faure preached in the morning; Mr. Sass, in the afternoon; and, after worship in the evening, Mr. Stockenstroom, the landdrost, addressed the people with dignified firmness upon the duties of industry, peaceable conduct, and sparing the lives of innocent Bushmen, with various other topics, which was likely to have a good effect. Several Griquas, by invitation of the landdrost, delivered their sentiments, all of whom assented to the justness of the principles which had been advocated. The landdrost had with him fifty sheep, besides lambs, as a present from the government to Mateebe; a munificence which would astonish himself and his people. Our visitors left us on the 8th.

We quitted Griqua Town, after taking leave of many of the people, in order to visit Campbell, a small Griqua town. Observing my Hottentot boy, Kleinfield, was without clothing, I enquired what he had done with his leathern trowsers [trousers]. With a downcast countenance, he said he had forgotten them at Griqua Town. He had previously lost his cap in one country, his sheep-skin cloak in another, and the dogs in the Mashow country had eaten his shoes while he slept. He expected I should be very angry when he told me the fate of his trowsers; but when he saw me smile at the information, which I could not help doing, he appeared perfectly satisfied, and went off with the utmost indifference to play with his comrades, though not an article could be obtained, at least for a month, to supply what he had lost.

At Lower Campbell, I found the people had regular meetings for worship, conducted by Abraham Kok, son of the old Griqua captain; and at Upper Campbell by Cornelius, another of his sons. Still higher up the valley, the meetings are conducted by Bally, a deacon of the church at Griqua Town.

The captain of the Bushmen who reside at Campbell complained to old Kok, that to make his cornfields, he was destroying what afforded to him and his people a shade during the heat of summer. Kok gave him as a recompense, two oxen and ten goats; he also ploughed land for him, on which he sowed a bushel of wheat, which in harvest produced six sacksful of grain. Being so successful with the father, he was encouraged to ask something from his son, for the ground he had ploughed up, and he obtained from him six sheep. These were all free-will offerings, for the poor Bushman had no means to enforce his demand. This generosity is one of the happy effects of Christianity.

In the upper part of the valley, I found a Matchappee woman, with three children, whose husband had forsaken her, entirely supported by the charity of the Griquas. The situation of this woman among instructed Griquas, compared to that to which she must have been reduced among her ignorant and hard-hearted countrymen, from whom she could not have obtained a morsel, furnishes a valuable commentary on the excellence of the gospel.

Mr. Moffatt returned from conducting the landdrost to Lattakoo, who, on his arrival, made a present of forty sheep to Mateebe [Mathibi]; ten to Mahootoo, his wife; and five to Munaneets, his uncle. Few of the natives attended worship while the landdrost's party were at Lattakoo, which the missionaries ascribed to a dread of their visitor; for they must have perceived, from the tone of his voice and his manner in addressing them, and the presents he had given, that he was the most powerful of the white men they had yet seen.

I had, on the 21st, a good deal of conversation with old Cornelius Kok, whose strong constitution seemed to be breaking up. I mentioned to him that he had for many years been a friend to missionaries, and to the introduction of the gospel among his people; and now that the shadows of the evening of life were visibly come among him, I asked what were his own prospects in leaving the world? The poor old man replied, they were very dark; he saw that he had

given too much of his mind to the things around, and too little to the things of God. I reminded him that he was still in the land of hope, though he must, in the course of nature, expect soon to leave it; that the gospel was directed to him, and that it contained every thing he could stand in need of as a sinful man. Though he had always been a friend to the instruction of the people, he never was a member of the church of Griqua Town. Now that old age pressed upon him, human life appeared to be more important than he had been accustomed to consider it in his younger years.

On the Lord's day, we had three meetings for worship. The people formed among themselves an Auxiliary Missionary Society, when they entered into annual subscriptions, amounting to seventy-five rix-dollars; yet, at this time, more than half the people were absent on a hunting excursion.

Chapter XLII – Journey from Griqua Town to Kok's Kraal

August 22. We left Campbell at ten o'clock: the day was pleasant, the road level; but the feet of the oxen raised such clouds of sand in their progress, that we sometimes felt it difficult to breathe. At four P.M. we had a fine view of the Great Orange river, at a little distance before us; I have seen no such river since leaving it, five months before. We soon after crossed it, and halted at the south side of the ford. This was the fourth time that I had crossed the Great river, without being detained a day by the rising of its waters. One of the youngest of the Matchappees, from Latttakoo, who were with us, having never seen so extensive a body of water before, actually fainted when he had only entered a few yards into it, and the others were obliged to carry him over. This ford lies about half way between the Cradock and the Alexander rivers, and must often be fordable when the ford lower down, after the junction of the Cradock, which is nearly equal in size to itself, is impassable.

Held a conversation with thirteen Corannas [Koranas], who came from a neighbouring kraal. We stated to them that, chiefly for the sake of their nation, Mr. Sass, whom they knew well, was to reside at Campbell; and we asked if they would encourage him to visit them, and would receive instruction from him about the true God, and his son Jesus Christ, the Saviour of men. They evaded giving an answer, being indifferent about the matter, and began immediately to ask for a handkerchief; indeed no nation in Africa has been found, by the missionaries, more indifferent to all kinds of information than the Corannas. They have always shown themselves, when visited by a missionary, equally indifferent to his coming, remaining, or departing. Mr. Sass, who knows them well, from residing among them at different times, gave me a striking illustration of the contracted state of their mental powers. 'Suppose,' he said, 'you ask a Coranna man how many children he has. He muses for a while, looking towards the ground; then, raising his hand, he appears to be engaged in calculating with his fingers. Yet, after all this, he requests others to assist him in solving the difficulty. After further calculation again with his fingers, he will look you in the face, and tell you he has three!' This may appear a complete caricature to Europeans; yet, from what I have seen, I believe there is no exaggeration in the statement. Their indolence also is most incredible; it is sloth personified.

They have a curious custom among them. The eldest son of a captain, or chief, when he becomes a lad, is hardly allowed to walk, but is kept continually lolling in a hut, and compelled to drink, daily, great quantities of milk, in order to make him a strong man. When his father thinks he has arrived at manhood, he produces two kiris, or heavy bludgeons, one of which he gives to his son, reserving the other for himself. With these the father and the son often fight, not a mock, but a serious battle. If the son succeeds in felling the father to the ground, immediately, on being able to rise up, he commends his son, and acknowledges him to be captain of the kraal in his room.

Like the Bushmen, the Corannas expose the aged to be devoured by wild beasts, alleging, in defence of the cruel practice, that such people are of no use, and only consume food which ought to fall to the share of others.

They do nothing to obtain a living, except milking their cows; and even that appears to them a painful exertion. Even their skin clothing they are not at the trouble to make, but prefer purchasing it, with cattle, from the Bootchuanas; nor will they travel a little way up the country to collect ochre to paint their bodies, but procure it from the Grikwas, in exchange for their sheep and oxen. It is not the Macedonian cry heard by Christians, a coming from the Coranna tribes: 'Come over and help us?'

We left the Great river at nine in the morning; at noon, we had a fine view of the Cradock river to the westward, hastening to unite with the Great river, in travelling across the continent, to become part of the Ethiopic ocean: not another auxiliary river unites with it during its future journey of six or seven hundred miles, except in the rainy season, when many streams run into it from the south, and a few from the north. At two, we arrived at the kraal of Adam, son of old Cornelius Kok. Upon expressing our surprise at the great number of cattle we saw grazing around his village, he told us, that when the missionaries first came to the Griqua country, he had only sixty head of cattle; but now he had five hundred, though the Bushmen had, at different times, stolen from him seventy-four oxen and cows.

He told us of a formidable combat, which some of his people had a short time before with a large lion. The animal had been near a Bushman's hut the whole night, waiting, as they supposed, for the arrival of its companion, to assist in attacking the family. Two Bootchuana herdsmen, attending their cattle near the place next morning, saw him, and ran towards Kok's kraal to inform the people. On their way thither, they met six of the Griquas coming to attack the formidable creature, having already heard he was there. Advancing towards him, they fired and wounded but did not disable him. Enraged by the smart of the wounds, he advanced to take revenge on his assailants. On seeing him approach, the Griquas instantly leaped from their horses, and formed them into a close line, with their tails towards the lion, and taking their stand at the horses' heads. The angry animal flew upon a Bootchuana, who was not protected by the intervention of the horses, and who tried to defend himself with his skin cloak. The lion, however, caught him by the arm, threw him on the ground, and, while the poor man still tried to defend himself by keeping his cloak wrapped around him, the lion got under it, and gnawed part of his thigh. His Bootchuana companion at that time threw his assagai, which penetrated the man's cloak, and entered the lion's back. The same Bootchuana threw another assagai; but, instead of taking the direction he intended, it pierced the body of a dog that was barking near. The Griquas would have fired, but they were afraid of shooting the man. To drive him away, if possible, they made a great noise, and threw some stones. The lion then left the man, and rushed towards them, when they again checked his attack by turning the horses around. He next crept under the belly of a mare, and seized her by the fore-leg; but with a powerful kick she made him let go his hold. In revenge, and by one stroke of his paw, he tore open her body, and retired. After this he tried to get around the horses to the men, but, when within two yards of one of them, and just about making a spring, he was happily killed by a musket shot, the ball penetrating behind his ear. Thus ended the severest encounter with a lion that any of these people ever had.

It is mentioned, in the journal of my first visit to Lattakoo, that I found a woman, called Mampoor, and her two children, in a starving condition, her husband having forsaken her. Mr. Anderson, missionary at Griqua Town, having consented to provide for them, they travelled with our wagons thither. I found she was here, with her runaway husband, Sewhahwai, who had rejoined her on hearing that the Griquas were taking care of her; for it was his poverty that made him leave her. Mampoor and the children could now speak the Dutch language well, having learned it among the Griquas, and could also read a little; and Syllebal, the eldest, had become a clever girl.

I saw two Bushgirls [San girls], Flora and Sabina, whose grandmother insisted, when their mother died, that they both should be thrown into the same grave with her, and be buried alive, because she said she could not support them; but this was prevented by the interference of Adam Kok.

Many ill-fed dogs are kept at all the kraals, which renders it necessary to keep a good look out, to prevent them devouring every thing made of leather. Cornelius, my Hottentot wagon-driver, feeling himself too warm when at work, put off his shoes. One of them was immediately seized and carried off by a hungry dog; and while Cornelius pursued the thief, another dog carried off the other shoe, which was nearly eaten up before he returned from his unsuccessful pursuit. Such a loss, on a journey into the interior of Africa, was no trifling matter."

APPENDIX 3

Schoeman (1996: xi–xx) – *Griqua Records. The Philippolis Captaincy, 1825–1861.*

"Brief Outline of Griqua History

Much research still remains to be done in Griqua history, especially for the earlier period, and the following is merely intended to provide some background to the documents here transcribed. Further information may be obtained from the works in the list of sources at the end of this outline.

During the 1750s a coloured man called Adam Kok (later to be known as Adam Kok I) (ca 1710–ca 1795), who is reputed to have been an emancipated slave, acquired grazing rights in the Piketberg area and attracted a following from among the more vulnerable local groups, the remains of the Khoi tribes of the Chaguriqua, as well as Basters ('Bastaards'), the offspring of white fathers and Khoi mothers who occupied an insecure and marginal position in local society. The members of this group continued to reflect their mixed origins until well into the nineteenth century, but while many individuals observed Khoi customs and spoke Siri (Gri) [Xiri], a Khoi language, a considerable number were to some extent westernised in their way of life, possessed horses, wagons and guns, and spoke a form of Dutch or Afrikaans, and their leaders mostly belonged to this class.

The Kok community was so numerous that Adam Kok was recognised as 'Captain' or 'Kaptyn' by the Dutch East India Company and presented with a staff of office similar to those received by the traditional Chiefs of indigenous groups. Under the pressure of white expansion, however, they were gradually forced inland, and by the end of the eighteenth century Adam's son Cornelius Kok I (1746–1820), who had become a well-to-do man by local standards, was living at Kamiesberg in Namaqualand and exploring the area further to the north: cattle posts were established on the Orange River, contact made with the Korana and various Tswana tribes of the interior, and trading and hunting trips were undertaken deep into the Transorange.

At the time the London Missionary Society (LMS) began its work in South Africa and opened to the Baster population of the country the possibility of access to white society and its attendant privileges by means of baptism. Cornelius Kok I seems to have been baptised in about 1800, and by 1801 missionaries of the LMS began work among the considerable population of Baster cattle farmers already living along the Orange River, at first sharing the nomadic life of the people, but from 1807 attempting to gather a fixed settlement about them at Klaarwater. Cornelius I continued to live mainly at Kamiesberg, and his deputies or 'Provinsie Kaptyns' on the Orange River were his son, Adam Kok II (1782–1835), and his nephew, Barend Barends.

It was while visiting Klaarwater in 1813 that John Campbell of the LMS persuaded the Basters of the Kok group to change their name, and they decided to call themselves Griquas, in commemoration of their Khoi (Chaguriqua) origin, while Klaarwater became Griquatown. Under the guidance of Campbell and the missionaries some rudimentary laws were adopted, and in this fashion the Griquatown captaincy came into being. Adam Kok II and Barends being elected 'Kaptyns'. This was followed by an extension of missionary activity in the area, which involved a considerable number of converted Khoikhoi or Basters from the LMS stations in the Eastern Cape, most notably Bethelsdorp, who were employed as 'native agents,' catechists and teachers, and the establishment of the station known as Lattakoo (later Kuruman) further inland for the Thlaping.

It was subsequent to this that Cornelius Kok I moved permanently to the Transorange, settling at the village of Campbell and exercising a purely local authority; on his death he was succeeded in this by his son, Cornelius Kok II, who was nominally a 'Provinsie Kaptyn,' but in practice soon developed Campbell into an independent Captaincy, which it continued to be until he made over his authority to his nephew, Adam Kok III, in 1857.

In 1820 dissension at Ggriquatown resulted in the election of Andries Waterboer, a protégé of the missionaries, as 'Kaptyn,' and his predecessors withdrew with their followers. Barends settled at Boetsap, which formed a third Captaincy in the Transorange until he moved in 1833 to Lishuani in the Caledon River valley, between the modern Excelsior and Clocolan in the Free State; while Adam Kok II retired to the area between the Vaal and Riet Rivers. Two years later a further group of malcontents left Griquatown, settling in the mountainous area between the

Riet and the Orange (the modern Fauresmith district), from which they acquired the name Bergenaars, and allying themselves with local Korana raiders. Their raiding parties constituted a serious threat to the Cape Colony, the inland tribes and the LMS mission for the Bushman which had been established at Philippolis in the Transgariep in 1822, and were a source of concern both to the Colonial authorities and to Dr John Philip of the LMS when he visited the interior in the winter of 1825.

With the tacit approval of the Colonial Government, Philip now interfered vigorously in local affairs, and persuaded a random collection of Griquas, Bergenaars and Korana to acknowledge Adam Kok II as their leader, in return for which they would be allowed officially to establish themselves in the Transgariep and would undertake to protect the mission at Philippolis. The following year, after an attack on an outpost of Philippolis by blacks—presumably Xhosa—whose cattle had been raided by Bergenaars, Kok was urgently invited to settle at the station itself and it was made over to him formally by the missionary artisan James Clark. In this way the Philippolis Captaincy came into being as the fourth centre of Griqua authority in the interior after Griquatown, Campbell and Boetsap. Its boundary to the south was the Orange River and to the west approximately the modern boundary line between the Free State and the Northern Cape, while eastward it ran near the modern Bethulie. The northern boundary was never very clearly defined, but in practice it extended to the Riet River and the vicinity of the modern Reddersburg.

The followers of Adam Kok II were divided almost from the beginning and deep cleavages marked the history of the Captaincy, the main groups being the Griquas proper, who consisted of the traditional following of the Kok family; the basters attached to the mission, whose loyalty lay primarily with the LMS; and an anarchic Bergenaar element energetically and effectively represented by Kok's son-in-law, Hendrik Hendrickze (ca 1795–1881), a gifted statesman and politician and one of the most remarkable men of his day. In addition, the population of the Captaincy included Korana, as well as a sizeable number of Tswana refugees from the interior, and it was steadily increased by immigration both from Griquatown and the Cape Colony, with both of which it was constantly in touch, in the latter case most notably from the mission at Bethelsdorp and the Khoi settlement at Kat River.

During the first decade or so, Adam Kok II—and, for a brief period, his eldest son, Cornelius Kok III—was largely engaged in attempts to establish his authority over the Korana raiders in the area, but very soon the Griquas came into contact with more formidable opponents. From 1825 white farmers from the Cape Colony were permitted by the Colonial authorities to cross the northern frontier to seek temporary grazing across the Orange River because of drought, but very soon these seasonal migrations developed into semipermanent settlement in the Transgariep, and large troops of Boers moved into the Captaincy with their flocks and herds, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the Kaptyn, disputing the possessions of the fountains with the Griqua settlers and using violence in their disputes. As early as January 1829 the Kaptyn and his Raad lodged a formal protest with the Cape Government against white encroachment, but the process, once begun, was not to be halted, and this constant undermining of Griqua authority by Boers settling in their territory would eventually cause the collapse of the Captaincy. The situation was exacerbated by the fact that a significant number of Griquas was willing to sell their farms to whites, even though this was forbidden by the Kaptyn and in express conflict with Griqua law. In this manner a considerable white population soon came into being in the Captaincy under the leadership of M.A. Oberholster, especially in the Riet River area, and by 1840 they were able to wring from the Griquas a number of written concessions known as a 'treaty'.

In 1835 Adam Kok died and was succeeded by his son Abraham Kok, who seems to have had connections with the Bergenaar faction and to have made a final attempt to re-establish an older Griqua way of life based on hunting and raiding. By this time, however, much had already changed among the people of the Philippolis Captaincy, and whatever internal divisions there may have been, general opinion in varying degrees favoured a more stable life based on sheep and cattle farming, woolgrowing and agriculture, friendship with the Colonial authorities and co-operation of some kind with the LMS. In 1832 the Colonial Government had concluded a treaty with Andries Waterboer of Griquatown, who continued to enjoy the favour of both Government and missionaries, and the Griquas of Philippolis became increasingly eager to obtain the same privilege, with the protection and other advantages it was presumed to entail. Abraham Kok was therefore deposed in 1837 and succeeded by his brother, Adam Kok III (1811–1875), under whom a broadly conciliatory policy towards Colony and mission was continued.

It was during this time that Philippolis began to assume increasing importance in Dr Philip's ambitious plans to gain control of the Griqua Captaincies and turn them into a bulwark both against attacks from Mzilikazi to the north and further intrusions by the whites from the south. That he did not succeed in this, and that the Philippolis Captaincy managed to retain its independence without losing the support of the LMS or the goodwill of the Colonial Government, must be seen as the main achievement of Hendrik Hendrickze, who made extremely skillful and effective use of divisions in the local community and the personal failings of individual missionaries at Philippolis. At the same time, however, it must be admitted that his influence in Griqua affairs over a period of more than twenty years was the cause of much turmoil in the Captaincy, and his dismissal in 1850 came at a stage when the Griquas were no longer able to benefit fully from the resulting tranquillity.

In 1837, under Abraham Kok, and again in 1838, under Adam Kok III, treaties were signed with Andries Waterboer, a pre-requisite for negotiations with the Colony, and in 1842 a treaty was finally concluded with the Captaincy by Sir George Napier. This seems to have been of benefit largely to the Colony, which was assured of armed allies on its northern boundary, but it also provided the Griquas with some measure of protection against white Colonial subjects in their territory.

While the early white settlers in the Transgariep had been farmers who remained generally if vaguely loyal to the Colonial authorities and the British Crown, a new element made its appearance in the area towards the end of the 1830s, however, when increasing numbers of disaffected and republican minded Boers left the Colony in what was to become known as the Great Trek, establishing themselves at Winburg across the Vet River, Potchefstroom across the Vaal River, and Pietermaritzburg beyond the Drakensberg. After the annexation of the Trekker Republic in Natal by the British in 1842, large numbers of these people returned to the Highveld, where they attempted under leadership of J.G. Mocke, A.H. Potgieter and others to establish a new republic and obtain the support of the Riet River loyalists under Oberholster. The threatening violence was averted in 1842 by negotiations and proclamations, but hostilities between Boers and Griqua broke out in 1845 when Adam Kok attempted, in accordance with the Napier Treaty, to arrest a Boer living in his territory. It was then that the practical benefits of the treaty became clear, for British troops were for the first time moved across the Orange River, and the Boers were defeated at Swartkoppies.

After Swartkoppies, the Governor, Sir Peregrine Maitland, travelled northwards to confer with Adam Kok and other indigenous leaders at Touwfontein, and the result was a new treaty with the Griquas which began the slow but certain official erosion of their limited rights. Acting on the advice of his Attorney-General, William Porter, Maitland decided to accept the existing situation in the Captaincy and acknowledge and authorise the presence of the whites. The Captaincy was therefore divided into two sections: the southernmost, in which Philippolis was situated, was known as 'unleasable,' and here Griqua land could not be alienated, while in the northernmost or 'leasable' portion, which extended along the Riet River, farms might be leased to British subjects for a period not exceeding forty years.

While this was by no means satisfactory to the Griquas, the Maitland Treaty which was subsequently concluded along these lines at least re-affirmed the protection of the British Government, and a Resident was moreover stationed at Philippolis with a small garrison to implement its provisions. Unfortunately for the Captaincy, however, he was also entrusted with the supervision of the other indigenous groups in the Transgariep, and early in 1846 the Residence was moved to a more central site at Bloemfontein, after which the Resident, Captain (subsequently Major) H.D. Warden, became increasingly involved in the rivalries of the various black tribes in the Caledon River Valley and of the missionary societies working among them. By this time, moreover, the influence of the LMS in South African affairs had waned, and Philip's ambitious plans for the Griqua Captaincies had become irrelevant, for it was clear that the black tribes of the interior were the major factor with which the British would have to deal, and the Griquas had lost the political importance they had briefly possessed during the 1820s and 1830s. Adam Kok remained a loyal ally of the British according to his obligations under the treaties, supplying troops to suppress the rebellion of the Republican Boers under Andries Pretorius in 1848 and also for the Resident's various punitive expeditions, but he obtained no tangible advantages in return and the problems of the Captaincy received little official attention.

The somewhat tenuous support which the Captaincy had received from the British authorities was withdrawn suddenly and dramatically when a new Governor, Sir Harry Smith, decided in a characteristically high-handed fashion

to make new arrangements with regard to Griqua lands more favourable to the Boers, to whom he was well disposed. The Kaptyn and Raad were browbeaten into accepting an emendation to the Maitland Treaty in 1848, by which farms leased to whites for a maximum of forty years were henceforth to be regarded as let perpetually, and the emendation was subsequently interpreted so as to include also all farms to be leased in future. To this arbitrary change Adam Kok and his Raad did not cease to protest vigorously, if in vain.

At the same time, and as part of the same ambitious scheme to achieve better control over the unruly Highveld, Smith furthermore proclaimed British sovereignty over the entire Transgariep. Through this ill-considered action, however, it soon became clear to the British Government that the various peoples inhabiting it could not be governed without a disproportionate expense of money and force, and within a few years it was decided to withdraw from the area completely. Sir George Clerk was sent out as Special Commissioner for this purpose, and ignoring the protests of various local groups, and attempting no solution of the many existing problems, such as the persistent conflicts of the whites with both the Griquas and the Sotho of Moshweshwe, he entered into negotiations with the Republican Boers, the only section of the community not opposed to British withdrawal. By the Bloemfontein Convention in 1854 that part of the Sovereignty that was inhabited and administered by whites became independent as the Republic of the Orange Free State, and Britain's former allies in the area were abandoned to their fate. In a secret addition to the Convention, Clerk moreover informed the representatives of the new state that all land in Griqua territory purchased by persons of European descent might pass into the control of the Free State, and between them Sir Harry Smith and Sir George Clerk may therefore fairly be said to have dealt the Philippolis Captaincy its death blow.

The Griquas were in possession of arms and able to obtain a certain quantity of ammunition from the Cape Colony, and by this time the Captaincy was beginning to enjoy increasing prosperity, mainly as a result of the successful introduction of wool farming; the dismissal of Hendrik Hendrickze in 1850 removed a source of much unrest, as has already been noted, the government seems to have been more efficiently organised during this period, and when Philippolis became an independent congregation after the withdrawal of the LMS in 1855, the Griquas proved themselves capable of taking responsibility for their own church affairs and supporting a minister and schoolteacher. A quarter of a century after its establishment, the Captaincy seemed in various ways to have become a viable political entity at last, but its authority had too long been eroded by the whites residing in its territory, and the Free State, though weak and divided, was able to benefit from this fact. It soon began to exert pressure on the Griquas and attempt to force them into a treaty which would inevitably have been to the advantage of the Republic, and when this failed, it proceeded to make arrangements for the incorporation of Griqua land into the Free State in accordance with the verbal agreements with Sir George Clerk in 1854. The white village of Fauresmith had already been established in Griqua territory in 1849, in spite of the protests of Adam Kok, and in early 1857 the Free State officially appointed its own fieldcornets in the Captaincy and began to exert its authority there in defiance of the Kaptyn. Unable any longer to obtain protection or even support from the British authorities, Kok and his people had little prospect of holding on at Philippolis, and were forced to accept the suggestion of the sympathetic Cape Governor, Sir George Grey, that they abandon the Captaincy and move en masse to the territory then known as Nomansland (the modern Griqualand East).

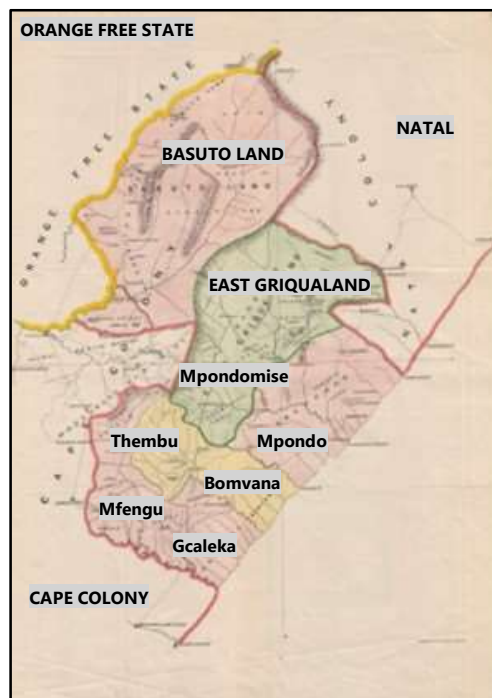
In 1861 the remaining Griqua land in the Philippolis Captaincy was accordingly sold to the Free State and incorporated into the Republic, and during 1863–1864²³ the majority of the Griquas from this area undertook an epic

²³ Nomansland / Griqualand East was located beyond the frontier of the ever-advancing British Cape Colony border of its eastern region, and the relocation of the Griqua to Nomansland took place just before the establishment of the Transkeian territories in 1865, and generally between the *Cattle Killing* movement and the last or Ninth Frontier / Xhosa War. The Frontier / Xhosa wars that typify the history of the region is briefly summarized as:

- First Frontier / Xhosa War: 1779–1781
- Second Frontier / Xhosa War: 1789–1793
- Third Frontier / Xhosa War: 1799–1803
- Fourth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1811–1812
- Fifth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1818–1819
- Sixth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1834–1836
- Seventh Frontier / Xhosa War: 1846–1847

trek across the Drakensberg which has received little attention from South African historians. Their previous prosperity seriously affected by dishonesty in the transactions involving their land in Philippolis, the bankruptcy of their agent, Henry Harvey, and cattle theft and accidents on their long journey, they started life in Griqualand East under severe disadvantages which were increased by various local problems, although Kokstad was established as their capital and the Captaincy managed to survive. Continued unrest in the area moved the Cape Government to annex it arbitrarily in 1874, however, and Adam Kok III died the following year.

An attempted rebellion at Kokstad in 1878 was suppressed, as was that of Andries le Fleur (1867–1941) in 1897; both may be seen as part of the protracted death throes of the old Philippolis Captaincy, for Griet Kok, the widow of the Kaptyn, played a prominent part of the former, while Le Fleur was married to the daughter of Adam Muis Kok who had attempted to establish himself as the heir to Adam Kok III and had thus come in possession of the Griqua staff of office. While Griqualand East soon ceased to be a Griqua polity, Kranshoek near Plettenberg Bay was during the twentieth century to develop into a major centre of Griqua settlement under Le Fleur, and he also became President of the Griqua Independent Church which was founded in 1920: he and his descendants may therefore be regarded as the modern successors to the Kaptyns of Philippolis."



Map 6: Map of the Transkeian territories, circa 1879

(<https://digitalcollections.lib.uct.ac.za/islandora/object/islandora:25087/datastream/OBJ/view>)

- Eighth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1850–1853
- Cattle-killing Movement / Xhosa "suicide": 1856–1858
- Ninth Frontier / Xhosa War: 1877–1879

APPENDIX 4

Morris (1990: 65–74) – *Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein: Specularite Mines*.

“Blink Mountain [Blinkklipkop, Northern Cape] is a kind of Mecca to the nations around, who are constantly making pilgrimages to it to obtain fresh supplies of the blue shining powder and the red stone’. Thus Campbell (1835: 112), with reference to the specularite working at Blinkklipkop in the early 19th century. Archaeological investigations at this famed, distinctive ironstone outcrop near Postmasburg have since revealed a substantial late Holocene sequence which, with comparable material from the nearby Doornfontein 1 workings, provides evidence of LSA [Later Stone Age] mining practices and the introduction here, by 1,200BP [Before the Present or ~1950; thus, ~800AD], of domesticated sheep / goats and possibly cattle, as well as pottery. Metal and glass items from the upper levels evidence direct or indirect Iron Age and European influences at these sites from the 17th / 18th centuries onwards.

Known to BaTswana as Sibihlong—the Place of Sibilo (i.e. specularite) – or Sensavan (Tsantsabane), ‘a shining stone’—Blinkklipkop was, as Burchell also observed, ‘one of the most celebrated places of the Transgariepine (trans Orange River area)... hither all the surrounding nations repair for a supply of that ornamental and, in their eyes, valuable substance. It constitutes in some degree an article of barter with the more distant tribes, and even among themselves; so that the use of it extends over at least five degrees of latitude, or among every tribe I have visited (1822–3 II: 256).

Situated directly on the route from the Cape to Dithakong, moreover, it was visited and described by numerous early travellers: the Truter–Somerville expedition, Lichtenstein, Burchell, Campbell, Blackhouse and others; their travellogues containing valuable accounts of this mineral’s cosmetic uses and importance as a trade commodity. Some idea of the demand for specularite and its exchange value amongst the Tswana can be gained from Burchell’s later remarks at Dithakong about a party of ‘Nuakkeetsies’ (BaNgwaketse) from the north, who had ‘brought a large quantity of ironware of their own manufacture, consisting of knives, hassagays [assegais], and hatchets; together with tobacco, copper and iron beads, copper bracelets and ornaments for the ears; which were exchanged here for porcelain, beads, and sibilo’ (1822–3 II: 439).

Burchell, like many other travellers who wrote up their treks through here, penned a description of the use of specularite by BaTlhaping:

‘The mode of preparing and using it, is simply grinding it together with grease, and smearing it generally over the body, but chiefly on the head; and the hair is so much loaded and clotted with the accumulation of it, that the clots exhibit the appearance of lumps of mineral. A Bachapin [BaTlhaping] whose head is thus covered, considers himself as most admirably adorned, and in full dress...’ (1822–3 II: 256).

There are accounts of similar usages amongst Khoisan groups: Korana (Engelbrecht 1936: 106), Griqua (Stow 1905: 317)²⁴ and //Xam Bushmen:

²⁴ “In a report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Aborigines, they [Griquas] are thus described: In 1800, when their first missionary, Mr. Anderson, went among them, they were a horde of wandering naked savages, subsisting by plunder and the chase. Their bodies were daubed with red paint, their heads loaded with grease and shining powder, with no covering but the filthy kaross over their shoulders. Without knowledge, without morals, or any trace of civilization, they were wholly abandoned to witchcraft, drunkenness, licentiousness, and all the consequences which arise from the unchecked growth of such vices. With his fellow labourer, Mr. Kramer, Mr. Anderson wandered about with them for five years and a half, exposed to all the dangers and privations inseparable from such a state of society, before they could induce them to locate where they afterwards settled.

The missionary Anderson, writing of this period states: When I went among the Griquas, and for some time after, they were without the smallest marks of civilization. If I except one, who had, by some means, got a trifling article of colonial raiment, they had not one thread of European clothing among them, and their wretched appearance and habits were such as might have excited in our minds an aversion for them, had we not been actuated by principles which led us to pity them and served to strengthen us in pursuing the object of our missionary work. They were in many instances little above the brutes. It is a fact that we were among them at the hazard of our lives. This became evident to us from their own acknowledgement to us afterwards, they having confessed that they had frequently premeditated to take away our lives, and were prevented only from executing their purposes by what they now consider an Almighty power. When we went among them, and for some time after, they lived in the habit of plundering one another, and they saw no moral evil in this, nor in any of their actions. Violent deaths were common, and I recollect many of the

//hara sparkles; therefore, our heads shimmer, on account of it; while they feel that they sparkle, they shimmer. Therefore the Bushmen are wont to say, when the old women are talking there: "That man, he is a handsome young man, on account of his head, which is surprisingly beautiful with the //hara blackness" (Bleek & Lloyd 1911: 337–339).

Apart from Blinkklipkop, there are several other specularite workings near Postmasburg and Sishen. Excavations at Doornfontein 1 indicated that intensive mining—resulting in the removal of an estimated 45,000 metric tons of specularite from four chambers—had begun before 1,200BP. Indeed, specularite has been found through much of the Holocene sequence at Wonderwerk Cave and occurs in levels older than 33,000BP at Kathu Pan 1: most of the nearest sources being in the Postmasburg–Sishen area. Specularite has also been found in ostrich eggshell and pottery containers, in view of which Ann and Francis Thackeray and Peter Beaumont hoped that one spin-off of their April 1980 excavations at Blinkklipkop would be some indication of the first appearance of pottery in the Northern Cape.

The Blinkklipkop mine consists of an open cutting into the hillside—as indicated and described in various historical records but now overgrown and partially filled with rubble; a man-made ‘cave’ created by the mining activities and containing rubble and occupation debris; and an underground tunnel-like working some 50m long. Historical accounts refer to larger underground workings now evidently hidden by rockfalls. When Wagner described the site in 1928, he referred to a ‘great cave-like working’ nearly 100 yards [91.44m] in length:

‘From the main working a number of tortuous inclined tunnels radiate, the bottom of the working resembling a huge rabbit warren. These tunnels are said to extend to a depth of nearly 250 feet [76.2m] measured in the incline, but as the lower part of the working has fallen in, it is impossible to check the figures...’ (Wagner 1928).

Wagner also estimated that some 80,000 tons of specularite—a crystalline form of haematite—had been mined from the site, not counting that from any possible hidden chambers.

The Thackeray–Beaumont investigation in 1980 included excavation of an 8 x 1m trench in the man-made cave area. The stratigraphy and six radiocarbon readings obtained are summarized in Fig. 1 and Table 1 respectively.

Evidence of human activity, relating to mining operations and temporary occupation of the cavern while mining was conducted elsewhere at the site, was found throughout the deposit. Clay floors in levels 3a1 and 3a11, and grass in 3b, were taken by Thackeray et al to reflect more permanent occupation of the site within the last century or so, after the visits by the 19th century travellers, mentioned above. The lower layers accumulated after about 1,200BP. This date refers only to the earliest extant deposits within this mining cavern, however. ‘In view of the size of the man-made cave, it would seem that mining at Blinkklipkop began a considerable time before 1,200 BP, but unfortunately the exact date cannot be determined from the available data’ (Thackeray et al 1983: 19). The stratigraphy at Doornfontein 1 is not dissimilar (Fig. 2), with features in stratum 2 suggesting more permanent occupation, overlying deposits probably formed by back-stopping during mining activities (Beaumont & Boshier 1974: 56).

Lithic artefacts [stone tools] were found in all levels at Blinkklipkop except 5V and 5W, but with retouched artefacts—a few crudely worked scrapers and miscellaneous pieces—accounting for less than 1% of the total. Blades, too, are rare, and only one bladelet core was found. Irregular flakes dominate the assemblage (>90%), many of them having marked bulbs of percussion, frequent hinge fractures, and dorsal surface cortex, probably including bi-products

aged women told me their husbands had been killed in this way. Their usual manner of living was truly disgusting, and they were void of shame; however, after a series of hardships which required much faith and patience, our instructions were attended with a blessing which produced a great change.

The old Griquas were clad in the earlier days much in the same fashion as the other wild races by whom they were surrounded, viz. a bunch of leather strings about eighteen inches [45cm] long hung from the women's waist in front, and a prepared skin of a sheep or antelope covered their shoulders. The men wore a patch of an apron, as big as the crown of a hat, and a mantle exactly like that of the women. To protect the skin from the sun by day and the cold by night, they smeared themselves with a compound of fat and ochre; the head was anointed with pounded blue mica [specularite] mixed with grease. The particles of shining mica, as they fell upon the body and on the strings of beads and brass rings were considered highly ornamental” (Stow 1905: 317–318).

of mining tool manufacture and use. A very similar assemblage profile, 'typified by a lack of refinement', was documented at the Doornfontein 1 workings (Beaumont & Boshier 1974). The total absence of backed artefacts at these two sites correlates with their rarity in the upper levels at Wonderwerk Cave (Thackeray 1981), but stands in striking contrast to the Upper Karoo assemblages of comparable age.

That stone artefacts were used as 'mining tools' for at least some of the time is indicated by battered ironstone artefacts recovered from strata 5d, 5h and 5r. Much greater numbers of these were found in the lower stratum at the Doornfontein workings (Beaumont & Boshier 1974). No metal mining tools were found at Blinkklipkop, but Thackeray et al presume that such were used during the more recent period, judging by the neat cut marks visible at places along the cavern walls. One upper and two lower grindstones recovered from the excavation and bearing haematite stains are taken to suggest that the ore was at times ground on site.

In terms of raw material usages, ironstone and quartz are the predominant materials in the lithic assemblage, with low percentages of crypto crystalline rocks, quartzite, dolomite and, in the upper-most strata, glass. Worked glass artefacts—including a scraper—in levels 1 to 3a clearly reflect direct or indirect colonial contacts.

Bone points, a spatulate point, an awl-like tool, and other utilized bone pieces were found throughout units 4 and 5.

Ostrich eggshell pieces including flask mouth fragments, beads, circular discs probably intended for bead manufacture, and large numbers of other fragments, some decorated, were found through most of the sequence. Drawing on modern ethnography, Thackeray et al argue that the evidence of local bead manufacture, undertaken by women, suggests that they accompanied men on visits to the mine at least on some occasions (cf. Beaumont & Boshier 1974: 58). At Doornfontein, too, there is evidence of local bead manufacture, but there is a relative increase between the lower and upper strata in the proportion of unperforated discs to unfinished beads with jagged edges (Beaumont & Boshier 1974: 57). None of the latter type was found at Blinkklipkop (Thackeray 1981).

Potsherds were found in most layers at Blinkklipkop, with the radiocarbon readings for 5p and 5s/t providing a minimum age of around 1,200BP for the earliest ceramics here. This pottery generally has rounded rims, one example being significantly thickened with clay folded double at the rim. Decoration consists of 'rippling' and stamping; the latter characteristic, noted on two sherds from layers 5c and 5d, having affinities in some Type R decorative conventions of comparable age along the Riet River (Maggs 1971), as well as in 'Bushman' [San] and 'Strandloper' wares documented by Rudner (1968, 1979). However, the Blinkklipkop pottery, like that from Doornfontein, is thinner-walled than the Riet River material, and this aspect, its grit temper and the presence of a spout and probable lug fragment serve to link it most closely with Cape coastal 'Hottentot' [Khoen] pottery as defined by Rudner (1979; Thackeray et al 1983; Beaumont & Vogel 1984; cf. Beaumont & Boshier 1974).

Apart from plastic, glass, china, cloth, and metal objects, miscellaneous non-lithic artefacts include glass beads considered to date from the 18th and 19th centuries, and seven translucent orange multi-faceted beads, differing slightly in size, associated with the stratum 5c date of 280 ± 50BP. Analysis of one specimen by Drs D. Traficante and D. Weber of the Chemical Instrumentation Center at Yale University indicated that this material is a resin that is probably natural, but perhaps a man-made polymer (plastic) (Thackeray et al 1983: 23). This latter possibility was ruled out on grounds of dating and stratigraphy (Thackeray 1981), and possible indigenous or exotic origins were considered. A suggestion that they are made from amber was recently negated, however, in an analysis which showed that the tested bead was manufactured from as yet unidentified raw material, in a press or mold which resulted in sintering around a cold central core, thin and of uniform diameter, that was subsequently withdrawn (Duncan Miller pers. comm.). A moulding line around the bead from hole to hole was identified. Further tests are in progress.

The Doornfontein 1 assemblage contains glass beads as well as three copper trip beads from the upper unit of excavation 1, and one from just below the stratum 1 / stratum 2 interface. Excavation 2 at this site yielded a rusted iron spear-head.

Human skeletal remains were recovered from the lower stratum of the Doornfontein excavation 1, representing at least or three individuals, one of which was characterized as KhoiSan, and a second as being 'fairly

robust and tall', in an analysis by Prof H. de Villiers. A Khoikhoi [Khoehoe] designation is tentatively advanced by Beaumont & Boshier (1974: 57).

The archaeological remains from both Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein are of particular significance in that they provide a minimum age for the appearance not only of pottery but also of domesticated animals in this part of the Northern Cape. Sheep / goats are present by at least 1,200BP, in layers 5p and 5q, well before the previously suggested date of 400BP (Humphreys 1979; Klein 1979). A further individual was identified from 5n and larger numbers occur in all layers from 5g to the surface, representing some 30% of the angulate fauna at the site. *Bos* (cattle) / *Syncerus* (buffalo) remains cannot be distinguished in terms of tooth length / breath measurements, while the phalanges, whereby these species could be identified, are unfortunately highly fragmented. Cusp patterns suggest some of the teeth in question are those of cattle, but this cannot be certain. Both sheep / goat and cattle / buffalo remains are also now documented from Doornfontein (Thackeray et al 1983). This evidence shows that keepers of domestic stock mined specularite at both Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein during the last 1,200 years.

Microfauna from Blinkklipkop were analysed by D.M. Avery (1981), indicating that environmental conditions similar to the present prevailed in the vicinity over most of the period under consideration, with a relatively wetter phase during layer 5a and lower 4b times, and a relatively drier spell mid-way in the formation of layer 5.

Important questions concerning frontier interactions²⁵ in the Northern Cape have been raised by the Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein analysis. Something of the complexity of these interactions can be gleaned from the earliest written records of the Orange River / 'Transgarapine' region (e.g. Wikar, Gordon. Truter / Sumerville, Lichtenstein, Burchell, Campbell and others), but in archaeological terms they remain poorly understood. What these sites provide is some evidence of the minimum time depth and dynamic of these processes. An early introduction of pastoralism and ceramic technology is attested, as are 17th / 18th century Iron Age and European contacts and influences. The evidence suggests that tall, robust herders, possibly Khoi, and perhaps San hunter-gatherers as well, mined specularite at Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein during the 1,200 years represented by the sequences, but with Iron Age BaTswana becoming involved perhaps from the 17th century.

Oral and documentary evidence suggests that fission and movement were a feature of BaTlhaping life in the Northern Cape at least in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Maggs 1976) and that they had at times occupied areas as far south as Postmasburg and westward beyond the Langeberg (Maingard 1933; Humphreys 1976). Their 18th century interactions—including trade in specularite (Raper & Boucher 1988 II: 347)—with groups along the Orange River were recorded by both Wikar and Gordon (Mossop 1935; Raper & Boucher 1988), and they had been rumoured about at the Cape as Brigoudi or Briqua ('People of the Gaat') as early as 1661 (Saunders 1966). Early 19th century records of Blinkklipkop mention only !Kora [Korana] (a Khoi group) and BaTswana in connection with the mine: by that time it appears that San hunter-gatherer population densities were declining in the area (Thackeray et al 1983: 24 cf. Methuen 1846).

More research on the recent prehistory of the area would fill out the glimpses provided by Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein 1 of local responses to the variety of social and ecological imperatives and constraints operative here since the advent of pastoralism."

²⁵ Frontier interaction mentioned here is based on the Imperialist–neo-Imperialist construct of a recent Khoehoe origin in the Cape region from where Khoehoe migrations radiated (see Map 1), thus, implying the frontier where the Iron Age baTswana moving southward met with the Khoehoe moving northward.

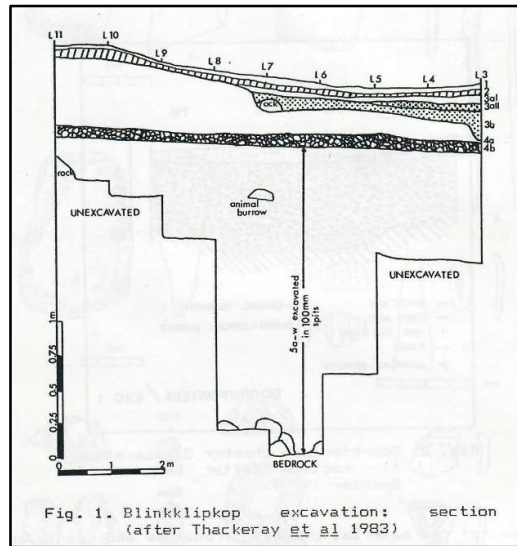


Figure 2: The excavation section at Blinkklipkop (Morris 1990)

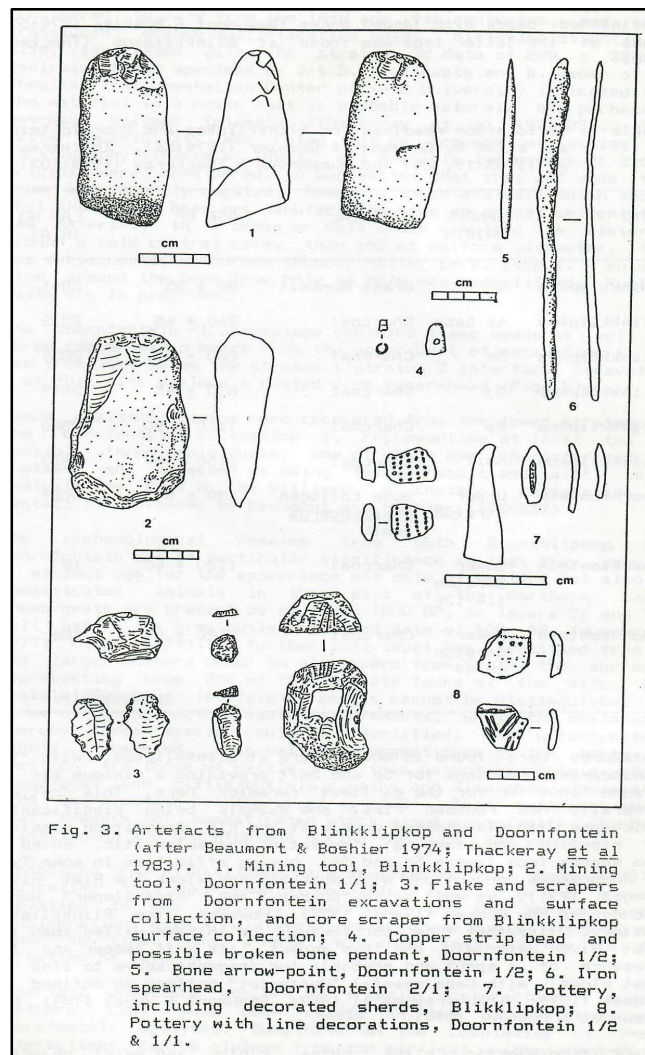


Figure 3: Stone Age artefacts from Blinkklipkop and Doornfontein (Morris 1990)

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